

JPRS-EER-86-085

9 JUNE 1986

East Europe Report

19980213 088

DTIC QUALITY INSPECTED 2

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A

Approved for public release;
Distribution Unlimited

FBIS

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

REPRODUCED BY
NATIONAL TECHNICAL
INFORMATION SERVICE
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
SPRINGFIELD, VA. 22161

28
125
A06

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

9 JUNE 1986

EAST EUROPE REPORT

CONTENTS

AGRICULTURE

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

- Improvements in Structure of Nutrition Within CEMA
(Maria Prochazka; MEZINARODNI ZEMEDELKY CASOPIS, No 1,
1986) 1

POLAND

- Dim Prospects for Shutdown of Farm Price Support System
(Ryszard Brzezic; WIES WSPOLCZESNA, No 2, Feb 86)..... 5

ECONOMY

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

- Trade With USSR Unaffected by Oil Price Changes
(TANJUG Domestic Service, 23 Apr 86)..... 12

- Briefs
SFRY-USSR Energy Protocol 14

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

- Time Lag in Production, Excessive Factory Inventories Cited
(IWE WIRTSCHAFTSDIENST, No 15, 17 Apr 86)..... 15

- Entire Length of Spree River To Be Monitored by Computer
(IWE TAGESDIENST, No 70, 6 May 86)..... 16

POLITICS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Opposition to Military Draft in CSSR, Poland Reported (INFORMATION, 9 Apr 86).....	17
Polish 'Peace and Freedom' Movement, by Bjarne Bonne Charter 77 Petition in CSSR	17 20
GNA Decision on Council of Ministers Report (SCINTEIA, 4 Apr 86).....	21
RCP Document on Party Cadre Policy (SCINTEIA, 9 Apr 86).....	24
RCP Document on Foreign Policy Goals (SCINTEIA, 11 Apr 86).....	33
Party Composition, Organizational Structure (SCINTEIA, 8 Apr 86).....	40
Workers Control Meeting Report Cites Failings (SCINTEIA, 28 Mar 86).....	50
RCP CC Letter to Ion Coman on Birthday (SCINTEIA, 26 Mar 86).....	52
Control Cadres Letter to CC, Ceausescu (SCINTEIA, 28 Mar 86).....	53
GNA Declaration on International Peace Year (SCINTEIA, 5 Apr 86).....	57
RCP Message to 17th PCI Congress in Rome (SCINTEIA, 11 Apr 86).....	62
Briefs	
Iranian President Thanks Ceausescu	65
Message to Syria's al-Asad	65
USSR's Ryzhkov Greets Romanian Leaders	65
Birthday Message to Kim Il-song	66
Ceausescu Message to al-Asad	66
Mongolia's Batmonh Thanks Ceausescu	66
Ceausescu Congratulatory Cable to Natta	67

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Briefs	
'Source' Rejects Charges Against Diplomats	68

Summaries of Major EINHEIT Articles, April-May 1986 (Erich Honecker; EINHEIT, No 4/5, Apr-May 86).....	69
Honecker Outlines SED History, Prospects (Erich Honecker; EINHEIT, No 4/5, Apr-May 86).....	78
SED Congress Preparations, Successes Lauded (Horst Dohlus; EINHEIT, No 4/5, Apr-May 86).....	86
SED Policies, Achievements Extolled (Egon Krenz; EINHEIT, No 4/5, Apr-May 86).....	95
Peace Policies, Goals Discussed by Foreign Affairs Minister (Oskar Fischer; EINHEIT, No 4/5, Apr-May 86).....	106
SED Anniversary Conference Reported, Assessed (Goetz Dieckmann; EINHEIT, No 4/5, Apr-May 86).....	115

SOCIOLOGY

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Church Newspaper Circulations, Coverages Noted (IWE TAGESDIENST, No 64, 25 Apr 86).....	119
--	-----

/6539

IMPROVEMENTS IN STRUCTURE OF NUTRITION WITHIN CEMA

Moscow/Prague MEZINARODNI ZEMEDEL'SKY CASOPIS in Czech No 1, 1986 pp 21-22

[Article by Maria Prochazka, Bulgarian People's Republic]

[Text] The main question for socialist society, as is obvious from the conclusions of congresses and plenums of the central committees of communist and worker parties of CEMA countries, is the best possible satisfaction of the needs of the population. A stable assurance of high-quality foodstuffs and improvements in the structure of nutrition are an inseparable part of the policies of socialist countries, aimed at the constant improvement of the standard of living.

In the European countries, very good results have been achieved in assuring the nutrition of the populace. From data provided by the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), Table 1 characterizes the structure and level of consumption of basic foodstuffs in CEMA member countries. It is clear that the data vary considerably from country to country. The development of the structure of nutrition is shown in Table 2; it shows that in the period 1960-1982 all countries showed a significant growth in the consumption of meat, milk, fish, fruit, and vegetables. The consumption of potatoes decreased.

Currently, even despite the rapid development of agricultural and foodstuffs production in CEMA member countries, it has not been possible to satisfy all the growing demands of the populace for high-quality foodstuffs completely. For example, the consumption of protein from livestock sources, which characterizes current rational nutrition, is lower in member countries than in capitalist countries.

Despite all results, the structure of nutrition for the populace in the European socialist countries is not yet equal to rational standards and requires improvement. The solution of this problem is connected with increasing the production and consumption of meat, milk, fish, fruit, and vegetables. The agriculture and food industries of the CEMA member countries do have the necessary resources and, therefore, it is necessary to concentrate efforts upon the better utilization of the opportunities at hand in various countries. The following are aimed at making maximum use of foodstuffs from their own resources: the Food Program of the USSR for the period through 1990; the program for developing agriculture in Poland through 1990; the comprehensive plan

for development of agriculture and the food industries in Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, and Czechoslovakia.

Table 1. Consumption of Basic Foodstuffs Per Capita in CEMA Member Countries, 1982, in kg

<u>Country</u>	<u>Meat and Lard</u>	<u>Milk, Dairy Prod- ucts, Including Butterfat</u>	<u>Fish</u>	<u>Eggs, each</u>	<u>Vegetables</u>	<u>Pota- toes</u>
Bulgaria	73.1	250	7.2	220	147.0	30.5
Hungary	76.0*	175**	--	315	155.0***	58.0
GDR	91.0*	--	7.4	301	95.6	145.0
Poland	58.5	403	6.0	200	107.0	159.0
USSR	57.0	295	18.4	249	101.0	110.0
Czechoslovakia	81.0*	239**	5.2	324	69.0	88.0

* Excluding lard; Hungary--including fish.

** Excluding butterfat.

*** Including fruit.

Table 2. Growth in Consumption of Basic Foodstuffs Per Capita for the Years 1960-1982, in kg

<u>Country</u>	<u>Meat and Lard</u>	<u>Milk, Dairy Prod- ucts, Including Butterfat</u>	<u>Fish</u>	<u>Eggs, each</u>	<u>Vegetables</u>	<u>Pota- toes</u>
Bulgaria	40.4	124	5.2	136	25.0	- 4.3
Hungary	28.4*	61**	--	155	70.9***	-39.6
GDR	36.0*	--	--	104	34.9	-29.0
Poland	8.6	40	1.5	57	--	-64.0
USSR	17.0	55	8.5	131	31.0	-33.0
Czechoslovakia	24.2*	66**	0.5	145	5.9	-22.0

* Excluding lard; Hungary--including fish.

** Excluding butterfat.

*** Including fruit.

The continued development of socialist integration in agriculture has a significant role in increasing food production. At the 27th Meeting of the CEMA Council, comprehensive measures were adopted for cooperation in improving the flow of food supplies to the populace of CEMA member countries. This document is the fulfillment of the Long-Term Goal-Oriented Program of Cooperation in Agriculture and in the Foodstuffs Industry.

Despite the fact that CEMA member country efforts are aimed at satisfying the demands for foodstuffs on the basis of domestic production and mutual cooperation, the soil and climatic conditions in the individual countries do not permit the attainment of full self-reliance and the overcoming of the seasonal nature with respect to some products.

The dynamics of this trade are determined primarily by the development of imports from European socialist countries. For the period 1965-1980, the average volume of these imports increased by 15.1 percent and continued to rise rapidly. In 1982, it was 11 times higher than it was in 1965 and 8 times higher than in 1970. The share of foodstuffs and raw materials for their production accounts for an average of 50 percent of total imports to CEMA member countries from developing countries and to about 8.5 percent of the exports. In this connection, developing countries receive investments which are essential to overcoming economic obsolescence and are increasing the exports of their traditional products, including tropical products.

As a result of dynamic and stable imports of foodstuffs from developing countries, their share in the exports to European socialist countries rose from 9.3 percent of total volume of exports in 1970 to 18.1 percent in 1982--in other words, it almost doubled. Nevertheless, the decisive trading partners for developing countries continue to be the developed capitalist nations. Their share in the volume of imports decreased from 74.3 percent in 1970 to 52.9 percent in 1982.

European CEMA countries import primarily products of tropical agriculture from the developing countries (tea--11.2 percent of world exports; coffee--5.25 percent; cocoa beans--17.7 percent), tropical and subtropical fruit (23.1 percent of world export volume), spices, various types of fodders (soybeans, grain, and groats), vegetable oils, rice, etc.

The import of foodstuffs industry products and raw materials for the foodstuffs industry from developing countries permits the expansion of the assortment of products being offered and also permits the overcoming of the seasonal nature in the consumption of some of them. In 1982, the share of imports of foodstuffs commodities in total imports from developing countries was as follows: to Bulgaria, 10 percent; to Hungary, 42.5 percent; to the USSR, 25 percent. Effective 1970, the significance of imports to supply the population of CEMA member countries with various types of foodstuffs has increased.

The delivery of foodstuffs and raw materials for the foodstuffs industry is accomplished primarily on the basis of long-term commercial contracts and treaties. For example, in December 1983, the GDR and Nicaragua concluded an agreement over a 5-year period, according to which the GDR would export machines and installations, mineral fertilizer, etc., and Nicaragua would provide its traditional goods--tobacco, coffee, etc.

Long-term commercial agreements guarantee a modicum of stability and balance to deliveries.

An important organizational form of trade involving foodstuffs between CEMA member countries and developing nations are agreements. They are mutually beneficial because they provide the developing countries the opportunity to expand the volume of imports and to increase exports in the face of inadequate foreign exchange and they provide the socialist countries, to a certain extent, with the opportunity of solving problems arising from positive balances of trade with some countries which export foodstuffs. This and other forms of

foreign trade relations have a special significance in conjunction with the mammoth obligations which the developing nations have with respect to the West, particularly the nations of Latin America.

In recent years, imports of foodstuffs and raw materials from these countries to CEMA member countries have gradually extended beyond the framework of standard commercial operations and have made a transition to other forms of economic cooperation. Among these tendencies are the compensation agreements and payments for technical aid in installing agricultural projects, foodstuffs industry facilities and other branches through deliveries of additional export commodities from developing countries, including merchandise which is produced in these facilities. Thus, for example, at the Eighth Session of the Mixed Soviet-Indian Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation, an agreement was concluded according to which a cannery for tropical fruit will be erected in India and its production will be delivered to the USSR.

Compensation agreements are a new, effective form of mutual economic relationships. They are long-term in their outlook with respect to their comprehensive character (they include the planning and erection of facilities, production and realization of production) and constitute an advantage for both interested parties.

In view of the potential opportunities, it is possible to anticipate a long-term development of trade involving foodstuffs and raw materials for their production between CEMA member countries and developing nations. The desires and efforts of the partner nations to overcome inadequate experiences and knowledge pertaining to opportunities inherent in each country in this direction, which has thus far acted as a brake on the development of commercial relationships, will be aimed in this direction.

The growth in the population of CEMA member countries and the current policy aimed at increasing the standard of living lead to the need to expand the assortment of foodstuffs. In the European socialist countries, the demand for coffee, cocoa, tea, tropical fruit, spices, vegetable oils, and products involving their primary processing, has grown.

The expansion of trade is accomplished simultaneously with deepening the international division of labor among CEMA member countries and the developing nations in the area of agriculture and the foodstuffs industry. On this basis, the number of types of foods which will be traded by both groups of countries will then be expanded.

5911

CSO: 2400/261

DIM PROSPECTS FOR SHUTDOWN OF FARM PRICE SUPPORT SYSTEM

Warsaw WIES WSPOLCZESNA in Polish No 2, Feb 86 pp 72-78

[Article by Ryszard Brzezik: "Subsidization of Farming"]

[Text] Subsidies are one of the most controversial economic instruments. On the one hand we know that as opposed to other tools of economic policy, subsidies are unusually selective in action and allow the realization of assigned goals by certain economic entities. For the same reason they are commonly used in most countries regardless of the type of social or economic system. On the other hand, Poland's experiences in the last decade have shown that a well-developed but poorly-used system of subsidies restricts the action of the pricing system, depreciates the value of taxes and credit and by effectively obscuring economic accounting contribute to the making of poor economic decisions.

The new economic and financial system introduced under the economic reform has made radical changes to the goals and principles of farm subsidizing. Above all, objective subsidizing which "reckons" state-owned farms according to the level and growth of final net production as well as the amount of land under cultivation. Bank credits are also used to substitute the subsidies that these farms received to cover possible losses.

The general principle has come to be accepted that subsidies should serve to improve the conditions for growth in agricultural production rather than the direct financial support of certain producers. This principle is a consequence of the agricultural policy of past years which was aimed at giving equal treatment to all sectors of agriculture including the right to receive assistance from the state budget.

Subsidies For Food

The 1970's policy of low fixed prices for food caused a rapid growth in the direct budget supplements from these prices because it became a barrier to natural adjustment of food prices to changes in the social costs of its production. Even at the start of the 1980's, more than half of all subsidies for farming were direct surcharges to food prices. Furthermore, the greatest portion of these surcharges were absorbed by so-called higher-order products. In 1975, the surcharges to prices for meat, fish and their products as well as

sugar were 63 percent while in 1980, they made up 56 percent of all direct food subsidies. Therefore these subsidies did not fulfill the task of protecting the level of consumption of the lowest income groups but were actually an alternative form of pay raise for persons employed in state-owned businesses.

The negative results of excessive subsidies to food prices could also be seen within agriculture itself as deactivated production in small farms. The farms quit raising hogs for their own consumption because the production costs exceeded the retail prices for pork.

The regulation of prices in February 1982 initiated essential changes not only in the scale but also in the structure of food subsidies. Where in 1981 the subsidies constituted nearly 30 percent of the production value of the food industry, it was only 12 percent by 1984. The absolute and relative amount of subsidies for dairy production and grain processing grew while the subsidies for meat, fish and sugar products fell. In 1984, the first of these groups received more than 74 percent of all food subsidies. Such a direction for changes in the dispensation of these subsidies not only considers the needs of social policy but is also in keeping with policy for an inexpensive model of consumption. This is particularly true of subsidies for:

-- the most popular food products (milk with the standard fat content as well as commonly used categories of baked products and flour);

-- cottage cheeses and popular categories of margarine which are inexpensive substitutes for meat and butter;

-- articles for select population groups (such as powdered milk and nutrients for children, diet foods, etc.).

In 1984, the value of subsidies in relation to the value of products sold amounted to 118 percent for standardized consumer milk, 88 percent for rye flour, 54 percent for special nutrients for infants, 7 percent for sausages and 17 percent for beef.

To present the complete picture of how food is subsidized by the food industry, we must add that the money provided the state budget from this industry (470 billion zlotys in 1984) was nearly twice as high as what was spent so subsidize food. One must of course remember that more than 80 percent of this income was sales tax paid by the companies of the alcohol and yeast industries.

Agricultural Subsidies

Considering the goals that certain subsidies are supposed to foster in agriculture, we can break them down into three groups:

1. Subsidies supplementing the pricing system to stimulate agricultural income and production.
2. Subsidies to stimulate the development and assimilation of agricultural progress.

3. Subsidies for social action in rural areas.

The first group consists above all of the subsidies that keep agricultural production costs at their lowest possible level. These consist of all surcharges for means of production and services such as mineral fertilizers, herbicides and pesticides, industrial fodders and subsidies of a more general nature used to finance investments and operations in soil improvement, irrigation, electrification, etc. A specific form of subsidization includes all of the various types of tax exemptions and deductions for specific conditions on a given farm (such as tax deductions for investments).

The second group consists of all subsidies for the creation and development of biological, technical and organizational progress as well as its implementation in agricultural production. These are therefore subsidies for scientific research, plant and seed cultivation, the raising of pedigree livestock and veterinary care, subsidies for agricultural training, contests, exhibits, etc. A specific form of agricultural subsidization is also state funding of the agricultural service, provincial quarantine and plant protection stations, geodesic bureaus, etc.

The third group includes subsidies to social security funds for farmers (about 2/3 of this funding), for housing construction and communal activity in state-owned farms.

The granting of a given form of subsidies to one group or another is subject to agreement. For example, from a formal point of view, subsidies for seed material and livestock take the form of price surcharges since they cover the difference between sale prices and production costs. In essence, however, these subsidies do not serve so much to reduce production costs as much as they foster the introduction of biological progress. Subsidies to social security which even if they foster social goals still have an influence over production and organizational progress because they encourage the faster turnover of generations, improve the agrarian structure, etc.

While it is generally accepted that the subsidization of farms within the second and third groups is both advisable and essential, not all subsidies to the first group seem necessary. This is especially true of the subsidization of the means of production for which the demand exceeds supplies such as, for a recent example, fodders and mineral mixtures and certain mineral fertilizers. In such a situation, subsidies become an additional source of market imbalance with all of its negative consequences (such as irrational allocation of means of production).

As we have already stated, recent years have brought essential changes in the scale, directions and forms of agricultural subsidies. The data in table 2 shows that the subsidies for current activity of farms and for industrial means of production have undergone particularly rapid growth while those for investment and social purposes have increased more slowly. It is also noticeable that from year to year, state-owned farms are receiving a rising portion of subsidies. While as late as in 1982 the subsidies in this sector were still at somewhere little more than 21 percent of the value of

final production, they had risen to 39 percent two years later. During the same period, the same indicator for private farms remained practically unchanged at a level of about 15 percent.

What was the cause of the renewed growth in the role of subsidies in the economic and financial system of state agricultural farms? The figures shown in table 3 partially answer that question. The state farms' portion of subsidies for current activity in 1984 amounted to nearly 46 percent which means that these subsidies returned to their 1980 level after a temporary drop in 1981-1983. Let us add that these subsidies consist not only of budget assistance for social security, compensation and communal management but also surcharges to protein fodders created for use on the state-owned farms. In 1983, these surcharges amounted to about 11 billion zlotys and in other words, were twice as high as the subsidies for feed mixtures produced by the fodder industry for the use of all sectors including the state farms.

From a formal point of view, all sectors can by the same principles utilize (indirectly) subsidies for the following means of production and services: mineral fertilizers, herbicides and pesticides, grain seed and seed potatoes, breeders and veterinary, insemination and zoological technical services. Every farm can also receive subsidies for protein fodder mixtures coming from state resources to the degree that the allocations of these fodders are limited.

The amount of subsidies for certain groups of production resources and specific products within these groups is greatly varied. For example, the subsidies cover about 30 percent of the costs of production and sale of artificial fertilizers but only about 10 percent of the costs for plant protection agents. In the case of the latter, the subsidies for domestically-produced herbicides and pesticides used in the cultivation of grain, potatoes and sugar beets is 30 percent while the prices for preparations for truck gardening and fruit-growing were set at the level of what they cost to produce.

Analysis of the data given in table 4 shows that the dominant position among subsidies for production resources of industrial origin since 1982 has been by subsidies for mineral fertilizers. Following a sharp drop (1981-1983) caused by limits on the importation of grain and high-protein fodder, the level of subsidies for fodder production rose again in 1984.

Although it has its advocates, a shutdown of all subsidies for farming and the food-packing industry seems neither advisable nor possible to implement any time soon. Possible benefits in the form of a "clean" account for the public costs of food production would not compensate for the negative influences both on agricultural production and in the social and living situation of some portions of the population.

However, to illustrate the consequences of shutting down farm subsidies, let us show the results of a simulation conducted by the IERiGZ [expansion unknown].

In the case of abolishing subsidies for agriculture and the food industry in 1984, it would be necessary to increase food prices (which has already been done this year anyway) by about 30 percent. It must be pointed out that this figure concerns only the "first step" in the process of liquidating subsidies because raising food prices by 30 percent would have to raise the wages of nonagricultural workers which would in turn lead to a rise in the prices of the means of production and investment goods bought by farmers and a rise in the costs of food processing. It would therefore make it necessary to again regulate prices although on a much smaller scale than in the "first step".

A dangerous phenomenon is the rebirth of many forms of subsidies of a subjective nature. These appear either in the form of "open" subsidies such as those given state farms in hard financial conditions or difficult climatic and soil conditions and also in the form of "hidden" subsidies such as partial income tax exemptions for some food industry businesses. The widespread use of this type of subsidy does much to inhibit any motivation toward financial independence and also has a detrimental effect on any effort to lower the public costs of food production.

Table 1. Foods subsidies in 1980-1984 (in billions of zlotys)

Subsidies	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
Total	163.9	213.5	211.0	235.7	240.6
For:					
meat and meat products	66.1	71.6	57.3	39.3	36.7
dairy products	44.4	72.7	79.1	97.7	105.1
grain products	17.8	14.2	44.9	74.4	73.6
sugar	13.1	16.4	7.5	8.1	6.5
fish and fish products	12.6	14.6	8.5	7.1	6.1
edible fats	2.2	5.4	8.2	4.9	7.4
other food products*	8.0	18.6	5.5	4.2	5.2
Ratio of subsidies to value of food sold (percent)**	25.3	29.7	14.1	13.0	11.7

*Such as nutrients for children, table salt (until 1983), gastronomical margins in milk bars (since 1984).

** In sale prices.

Table 2 on following page

Table 2. Budget subsidies in agriculture in 1982-1984

Specification	1982	1983	1984
in billions of zlotys			
Subsidies for:			
-- current activity	74.3	100.9	146.6
-- industrially-produced means of production	38.1	44.2	72.4
-- investments	35.7	39.7	45.8
-- social activity	55.4	75.2	61.6
Total	203.5	260.0	326.4
Subsidies (in percent) to:			
-- state agricultural farms	21.6	28.5	35.7
-- agricultural producer cooperatives	10.3	11.2	5.6
-- agricultural circles cooperatives	0.2	0.2	0.2
-- private farms together with agricultural circle services	67.9	60.5	58.2
Percent of subsidies out of the value of the final products:			
-- all agriculture	17.4	19.1	20.3
-- state agricultural farms	21.4	29.8	38.7
-- private farms	15.1	14.9	15.4

Table 3 on following page

Table 3. Subsidies for current agricultural activity in 1980-1984 (in billions of zlotys)

Subsidies	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
Total	75.5	77.4	74.3	100.9	146.6
For:					
-- state agricultural farms	34.4	27.2	23.8	34.8	67.1
-- for agricultural producer cooperatives and agricultural circles	14.0	18.7	18.3	28.7	19.8
-- for banks for amortization and reduced interest on credits	9.3	9.5	8.9	10.6	25.7
-- for plant cultivation	3.9	3.8	2.2	2.5	7.3
-- for livestock cultivation	7.9	8.4	7.1	7.7	9.0
-- for soil improvement and rural irrigation	2.7	3.1	6.9	9.0	10.6
-- for geodetic services	1.3	1.5	2.2	3.3	4.0
-- for community agricultural services	1.7	2.1	2.5	3.0	1.7
-- for flood damages	--	2.7	1.8	0.8	0.7
-- other	0.3	0.4	0.6	0.5	0.7

Table 4. Subsidies for industrially-made means of production in 1980-1984 (in billions of zlotys)

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
Subsidies for:					
-- industrial fodder and fodder grains	23.2	8.7	6.3	5.2	18.0
-- mineral fertilizers	4.0	5.6	16.0	23.3	33.4
-- agricultural machinery and tools	0.7	0.4	3.4	0.5	0.1
-- plant protection agents	--	--	1.3	1.1	2.0
-- fuel coal	.	.	11.2	14.2	18.1

12261

CSO: 2600/387

TRADE WITH USSR UNAFFECTED BY OIL PRICE CHANGES

LD241516 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1913 GMT 23 Apr 86

[Text] Moscow, 23 Apr (TANJUG)--Unstable oil and gas prices will not call into question the realization of the planned level of Yugoslav-Soviet economic exchange. This was agreed at yesterday's talks between Nikola Filipovic, president of the Presidium of the Yugoslav Chamber of Economy, and Milojko Drulovic, ambassador of the SFRY, and Ivan Arkhipov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

The two sides agreed to take urgent concrete steps in order to secure a balanced exchange. They noted that new prices of oil and gas are a "joint problem" which the economies of the two countries will "jointly tackle" to avoid a negative effect on the planned development of cooperation. The Yugoslav side has already proposed a list of products which would increase Yugoslavia's purchases on the Soviet market for about \$500 million.

These will include some products of Soviet machine-building, 3 ships, 1,600 horse-power harbor tugboats, an additional shipment of 2,300 parts for the new Lada model, as well as a wide range of semi-manufactures and raw materials. The Soviet Union, Arkhipov stressed, will not revise its imports from Yugoslavia and the internal supplies remain to be established in the exchange between the two countries in order that all the agreements in this field be realized in full.

The mixed committee for the exchange of commodities should prepare and coordinate appropriate solutions in this direction for the coming meeting of the Yugoslav-Soviet Committee for Economic-Scientific Cooperation, which will be held in Belgrade in mid-May.

During yesterday's Yugoslav-Soviet economic talks the question of long-term industrial cooperation between the two countries was revived. There have been talks about it on a number of occasions, but only in the light of the possibility of raising economic cooperation to a higher standard in this way. On behalf of his Council of Ministers Arkhipov proposed that the first foundations of such cooperation be laid in the cellulose and paper industry. The USSR leaves the Yugoslav economy the possibility of securing, in keeping with the principle of joint investments with Soviet partners, part of its needs in this field and at the same time to invest in production in order to participate jointly in third markets.

The initiative of the hosts was accepted in principle and a corresponding Yugoslav association in this branch within the framework of the economic chamber will declare itself for or against. According to the signed cooperation programme the Yugoslav Chamber of Economy and the Trade and Industrial Chamber of the USSR took the responsibility to give assistance within the scope of their competence, to the realization of the protocol on commodities' exchange between the two countries for 1986. They will also take measures to ensure that the quality of mutually delivered goods corresponds fully to the standards agreed.

/8309

CSO: 2800/248

BRIEFS

SFRY-USSR ENERGY PROTOCOL--Belgrade, April 10 (TANJUG)--Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union will continue their economic and technical cooperation in the period 1986-1990 in the fields of electric power and chemical industries, coal production and ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy. A protocol just signed in Moscow envisages the conditions for the Soviet participation in crediting the construction of 21 economic projects in Yugoslavia. The Soviet side will credit the delivery of 500 million dollars worth of equipment for new Yugoslav energy industry projects by 1990, 50 million dollars more than the amount of credits used in the past five years. The projects include the Ugljevik-2 and Tuzla-b, thermo-electric power plants of 600 mw total rated power, and the Ugljevik-Istok mine of 1.8 million tons of coal annual output. It is estimated that trade and services exchanged by Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union this year will amount to 7 billion dollars. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 1330 GMT 10 Apr 86] /8309

CSO: 2800/248

TIME LAG IN PRODUCTION, EXCESSIVE FACTORY INVENTORIES CITED

Bonn IWE WIRTSCHAFTSDIENST in German Vol 27 No 15, 17 Apr 86 p 2

[Text] In the [word indistinct] of the East Berlin [economic] journal WIRTSCHAFTSWISSENSCHAFT, the respective time-intervals required for production in the GDR industry (from the first to the final workday, likewise that time required from the date on which the order is first received until the date of delivery to the customer) are too long. The time required by the individual factory for distributing materials, as well as the time needed for the delivery and transshipment of wholesale [supplies] from one enterprise to another have extended and increased the production process and, above all, led to insufficient flexibility. Although the current expenditures per/unit production have decreased from one year to the next, and the new products have required less and less time and materials for their production, the initial outlay of funds and their expenditure (when compared with international levels of spending) are too great. The economic result of this state of affairs is an excessive amount of circulating funds. Considerable material resources are, in effect, blocked; profits and national income have been reduced and, in particular, so has the volume of consumer goods, which might have been higher. However, according to the journal, there is yet another reason for these excess inventories of materials and goods awaiting delivery which have accumulated in the finished-goods enterprises: materials and components which are "in short supply" are being hoarded in order to provide protection against any difficulties which might conceivably arise in the deliveries made by parts-suppliers or in the event of transport problems. The East Berlin journal considers a "drastic reduction in material inventories" to be in order.

/8309

CSO: 2300/347

ENTIRE LENGTH OF SPREE RIVER TO BE MONITORED BY COMPUTER

Bonn IWE TAGESDIENST in German No 70, 6 May 86 p 1

[Text] The Spree, which also flows through West Berlin, is to become the first river in the GDR which will be monitored by computer from its source to its mouth. As may be concluded from the East Berlin journal WASSERWIRTSCHAFT-WASSESTECHNIK, an automated information system intended for the entire river region is currently being installed. Among the various functions which this system is to perform, there is the "constant analysis of events in the river region which are related to water-management" and also the "determining of measures for more effective improvement of water-resource protection." As the East Berlin journal explained, what is involved here is a system for directing and planning the economic use of the river; a system "which produces informative reports concerning ongoing processes. These reports [must] provide the material needed for making a decision based on an objective point of view and, with regard to the technical, economic and political aspects, they [should] provide the prerequisites for competent decision-making." In the opinion of the water-management officials in East Berlin, this automated measuring network along with its data-reception and evaluation center will, in addition to other [benefits], produce a "noticeable reduction in the reaction-times where water freight-transport problems are concerned." The Spree is of considerable importance in providing East Berlin with drinking water.

Automated measuring and water-management centers are to be set up as well for other stretches of water in the GDR in the near future.

/8309

CSO: 2300/348

OPPOSITION TO MILITARY DRAFT IN CSSR, POLAND REPORTED

Polish 'Peace and Freedom' Movement

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 9 Apr 86 p 3

[Article by Bjarne Bonne]

[Text] "Our movement is primarily an ethically based movement. Nevertheless, people are put into prison for participating in our activities." This is how Malgorzata Swierzewska described the dilemma facing the Wolnosc i pokoj (WIP)--Peace and Freedom--movement when I met her recently at her home in Warsaw's old workers' neighborhood Praga.

Malgorzata Swierzewska said that WIP was founded after several young people protested against the arrest of Marek Adamkiewicz, who was sentenced to 2.5 years in prison for refusing to take the military oath sworn by all inductees in Poland.

She stressed that it was not a matter of the draft or the army as such. Adamkiewicz would like to be a soldier. His problem is that he refuses to speak words in which he does not believe. When he was arrested because of this, at least 20 people returned their military papers to the Defense Ministry, along with an explanation in which they expressed their solidarity with Adamkiewicz and protested against the obligatory oath.

The explanation stated that the protest was "not directed against military service, but expresses a desire not to participate in lies and not to take responsibility for injustice perpetrated in the name of the law, which leads to the destruction of the conscience of young people."

More have joined since that time, so that by today about 30 people have returned their military papers. A number of these have been sentenced to pay stiff fines for their participation in the protest. Since they cannot accept these sentences, but believe that justice is on their side, they have refused to pay, after which they have been imprisoned.

Malgorzata Swierzewska explained that this concrete beginning expressed something important for Peace and Freedom.

"When we say 'peace,' we understand this not as a political form or a program, but as a personal and moral problem. We understand peace as a way of living, of going the way you please, as long as you do not hurt anyone else. The pope has said, 'Create peace in your hearts and in your minds and it will be possible to find a peaceful way in which to live.' Thus, our movement is not an organization with offices and employees and so on, but an open form of social activity, a way of living."

"We believe that everyone has the right to truth and that people can make a choice. You can refuse military service, for example. You can go to jail for that and it is unpleasant, but on the other hand it is also unpleasant to be in the army if you do not want to be there, so regardless of what you do you make a decision."

One of the movement's statements says that "one prerequisite for creating peace in our political life and between the state and other nations is that personal freedom be effectively guaranteed for all people." It also states that there cannot be peace where there is oppression.

I asked Malgorzata Swierzewska how the movement believed that repression in Poland could be abolished. She said it could be done in a peaceful manner. She said that, even though her answer may appear somewhat abstract, she believed that in a society such as Poland the solution depended on the individual himself, regardless of whether he was free or not.

"We want to create as much free space for ourselves as possible. We do not ask whether our movement is legal or not. We simply begin to act in a manner we believe to be morally and ethically defensible. We try to live as free, good, and rich a life as possible."

"I should also point out that we felt tired of discussing politics in the abstract. Our movement is primarily interested in giving our activities a personal dimension. The opinions of the individual activists are most important to us and, for this reason, there is always room for individual interests in this movement. For example, I am extremely interested in the fate of national minorities here in Poland, so we are beginning to become involved in these issues. You could say that our basic belief is that if people had a free choice, they would do something for peace, in some way or another."

Peace and Freedom is not a large movement. The founding document was signed by only a handful of people in Gdansk, Krakow, Warsaw, and Wroclaw. The members of this ethically based, nonviolent peace movement are being sentenced to long prison terms for their "crimes" which, in a country such as Denmark, are seen as human rights. The desire to perform alternative civilian service instead of serving in the military is not a right in Poland, but it is subject to several years in prison. At least five members of Peace and Freedom have suffered this fate personally.

The military oath swears loyalty not only to the Polish nation, but also to the government currently in power and to the Warsaw Pact, the Soviet Union in particular. Refusing to take this oath costs 2.5 years in prison.

The movement represents the beginning of a new trend in the Polish opposition. The introduction to the movement's statement of 17 November last year states that the movement "was created to take up issues with which, in our opinion, the other independent organizations in Poland are not involved."

Malgorzata Zwierzewska said that the problem was found in the word "peace." The regime's constant propaganda for the cause of peace has totally eroded the credibility of this term. This has resulted in widespread skepticism and reluctance toward peace movements.

One reflection of this was that the illegal biweekly publication KOS, which is published by the Committee for Social Resistance, experienced a drastic reduction in circulation after it printed articles that were critical of the invasion of Grenada by the United States. This reaction also occurred after the paper had criticized the deployment of new American medium-range missiles in Western Europe.

On this background, the appearance of an independent peace movement in Poland that is attempting to assume the task of "working to inform the Polish people of the danger of war" (statement of 17 November 1985) is an important step toward the development of independent European peace movements that can work to reduce the threat caused by the continuing nuclear buildup, without converting themselves into supporters of continued oppression in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. It represents a step away from the false "choice" between a continued nuclear buildup and the rejection of human rights and freedoms.

In its founding statement, Peace and Freedom formulated the task of the movement as follows: "We want to do everything in our power to increase individual freedom in our country and, thereby, to give peace a chance in Poland."



The symbol of Peace and Freedom is a dove made of a hand making the V-sign (taken from Polish Catholic masses) and an egg with the antinuclear symbol painted on it.

Charter 77 Petition in CSSR

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 9 Apr 86 p 3

[Article: "Demand in Prague for Right to Refuse Service"]

[Text] The right to refuse military service has cropped up as a political theme not only in Poland, but also in Czechoslovakia.

The citizens' initiative Charter 77 recently proposed (INFORMATION, 29 March) that young men who, for reasons of conscience, did not want military training should be permitted to perform nonmilitary alternative service. At the same time, Charter 77 proposed a reduction in the military service from 2 years to 1.5 years.

The proposals resulted from a demonstration in Prague during December last year. About 1,000 young people participated. One of the slogans was "abolish the military."

In the beginning of the proposal, Charter 77 pointed out that since the mid-1960's young people in the GDR have been permitted to fulfil their obligation as "construction soldiers," i.e. without military training. This came about because of an initiative by the evangelical church in the GDR.

9336

CSO: 3613/98

GNA DECISION ON COUNCIL OF MINISTERS REPORT

AU211756 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 4 Apr 86 p 3

[Text] The Grand National Assembly [GNA] discussing the Report of the Council of Ministers on the fulfillment of the Uniform National Plan for socioeconomic development in the first term of 1986 and the established measures for the complete fulfillment of the plan provisions in 1985, assesses that the entire socioeconomic activity during the first term has been carried out in a way which ensures--as of the first year of the Eighth 5-Year Plan period--the unflinching implementation of the historical decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and the fulfillment of the RCP program of building the comprehensively developed socialist society in Romania and the passage to a new, superior stage of development.

The GNA highly appreciates the decisive contribution the party secretary general and president of the SR of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, made to formulating and implementing the policy of our party and state, to setting all activities on a completely scientific and realistic foundation, and to establishing the most adequate measures that can ensure the broad mobilization of all creative forces and powers of the people to build socialism and communism on Romanian soil.

Taking into consideration the results attained in the economy so far, and the measures established for the complete implementation of the plan provisions for 1986

The Grand National Assembly of the SR of Romania

Decides:

1. To approve the Report of the Council of Ministers regarding the fulfillment of the Uniform National Plan for the socioeconomic development of the country in the first term of 1986 and the measures established for the complete fulfillment of the plan provisions for 1986.
2. To request the Council of Ministers to act resolutely so that the ministries, the other central and local bodies, and all the economic units should entirely apply the established measures in order to:

a) commendably fulfill the Uniform National Plan for socioeconomic development and the programs specially adopted according to branches and fields of activity;

b) gradually achieve the item-specified production, within the planned framework, raise the technical and quality level of products, and better utilize raw and other materials, fuel, and energy;

c) completely achieve the production earmarked for exports at the quality level stipulated by the contract and on schedule.

Measures must be taken to make up shortfalls in the field of exports, and the steady achievement of the item-specified production earmarked for export must be attained.

With a view to smoothly attaining the production earmarked for export, the Council of Ministers will take measures so that the Ministry of Supply [as published] together with the State Planning Committee can ensure the enterprises' supply of raw and other materials especially designed for export production which cannot be used for purposes other than for achieving production for exports.

The ministries, centrals, and enterprises must produce and deliver expediently the necessary materials required by the production earmarked for export.

The utilization of raw and other materials for purposes other than exports should be considered as a serious violation of the state plan and should result in sanctions in accordance with the laws of the country;

d) ensure the appropriate conditions for implementing the investment program, putting the capacities into operation, and attaining the planned parameters on schedule by completely using existing production capacities and constructions;

e) improve the activity of organizing production and labor, modernize manufacturing technologies and expand the technical progress, apply the overall contract and piece contract, and thus more markedly increase labor productivity in all fields of activity, reduce energy and material consumption, improve the level of using material resources, and strengthen order and discipline in all units;

f) completely fulfill the plan provisions regarding agricultural yields--vegetable and animal yields--and use the entire stock and available equipment with maximum efficiency; fully carry out the irrigation program and the other land improvement works; expand modern cultivating, harvesting, and animal breeding technologies; carry out all agricultural work on time and at an appropriate quality level; and ensure and administer the fodder stock under the most appropriate conditions;

g) The Council of Ministers should take measures to eliminate stocks in excess of the established norms and report to the GNA at its next meeting on the situation of stocks;

h) firmly apply the principles of workers' self-management and of economic and financial self-administration, and see to it that in every unit expenditures are fully covered out of the units own incomes, that production costs are reduced and profitability increased, that the value of production has increased in accordance with the utilized fix assets, that the approved consumption norms are observed, that firm financial and banking control is carried out, that a strict savings system is set up, and that good management of the national wealth is ensured.

The GNA assesses that all conditions exist in order to fulfill completely the socioeconomic plan for 1986 and calls on all working people to work with determination and revolutionary devotion, with a view to utilizing appropriately the entire material and human potential of our society in order to ensure intensive development and the steady growth rate of industry, agriculture, and the entire national economy, the sure basis for the continuous raising of all our people's material and cultural standard of living, the major goal of the RCP's policy.

/9604

CSO: 2700/162

RCP DOCUMENT ON PARTY CADRE POLICY

AU191051 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 9 Apr 86 p 2

["Documents Adopted by the 1-2 April 1986 RCP Central Committee Plenum--
On the Activity Carried Out by Party-State Bodies and Mass Organizations
in 1985 to Implement the Party Cadre Policy--Abstract"]

[Text] The 20th anniversary in 1985 of the historic Ninth RCP Congress--an event of overwhelming importance in the fatherland's contemporary history when, through the unanimous will of communists, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu was elected to the head of the party--the conclusion of the Seventh 5-Year Plan with good results, and the forceful transition to implementing the 13th party congress decisions and the targets for the country's socioeconomic development in the 1986-90 period, which aim at attaining a new quality of life and work for the entire nation and at ensuring Romania's passage to a new and higher development stage, give us reason for justified patriotic pride in the Romanian people's achievements and also offer us an opportunity to draw appropriate conclusions and lessons and foresee our great prospects.

In the period which our people, with justified pride, have named "The Nicolae Ceausescu Era," Romanian society has registered a dynamic pace, under the leadership of the RCP and its secretary general. This pace was reflected in the rapid development and modernization of the forces of production and the continuous improvement of social organization and management, social relations, and all fields of activity; in this period, we have increased the national income and wealth, raised on this basis the working people's material and intellectual living standard, and strengthened Socialist Romania's political prestige and the national independence and sovereignty.

Through his entire activity, RCP Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has gained the admiration of the entire nation and distinguished himself as a leader with a great personality, great virtues as a politician and statesman, outstanding revolutionary ardor and fiery patriotism, and unparalleled daring and clearheadedness in everything he achieves; through his broad and laborious theoretical and practical activity, he has developed the basic theses of the revolutionary theory and has guided the process of building the new society in Romania and the entire constructive activity of our people.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's brilliant work, the report presented to the 13th party congress, and his expositions and speeches make a profound and exacting analysis of our country's socioeconomic development and clearly provide solutions and guidelines for action; they are program documents of a strong mobilizing nature for all working people which directly stimulate the revolutionary spirit of work and struggle and the quality and efficiency of the activity of party-state cadres and other cadres in ministries, central departments, industrial and agricultural units, research and technological design institutes, and all fields of activity. In this respect, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has often stated that the expedient resolution of the complex problems raised by the current and long-term intensive development of our economy, the progress of science and culture, and the need to further improve the management of the entire socioeconomic activity--with a view to attaining maximum efficiency in all fields--depend to a decisive extent on ensuring a just cadre policy and on selecting, promoting, training, and educating cadres in accordance with the qualitatively superior requirements of the current development stage of Romanian society.

Party bodies and organizations, mass organizations, and the managements of ministries and central institutions have annually increased their concern for selecting and promoting cadres with a sound professional and political training and a developed sense of responsibility and initiatives, cadres that have shown a revolutionary spirit in their entire activity and behavior, that are working with self-denial and devotion to implement party decisions and the state's laws, and that give priority to the interests of the party and people above everything else.

Intensive activity was carried out to become acquainted with, select, and promote a larger number of cadres in view of elections of deputies to the Grand National Assembly [GNA], the people's councils, and the management bodies of the Union of Communist Youth [UCY], the Union of Communist Students' Associations of Romania, pioneers and women organizations, the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, and the Socialist Democracy and Unity Organizations.

In order to implement the measures to improve organizational structures, particularly in ministries and industrial central departments, steps were taken in this respect to become better acquainted with the cadres and promote those who distinguish themselves through good professional and political training, those who are experienced and show an organizational spirit, exactingness, and resolution in fulfilling their tasks.

In 1985 we promoted 9,786 cadres to positions in the nomenclature of party-state bodies; of this number, 920 were promoted in the party apparatus, 974 in mass organizations, 818 in people's councils and subordinated units, and 7,074 in the economy and other fields of activity.

The nomenclature of party bodies currently consists of 190,000 cadres, who militate resolutely and responsibly for commendably fulfilling the tasks entrusted to them.

In the light of the targets established by the party leadership, our party bodies and organizations have taken firmer steps to ensure an appropriate social composition of cadres in all sectors.

The proportion of cadres deriving from the ranks of workers, foremen, and technicians in the 1980-85 period increased from 77.1 percent to 79.0 percent within the party apparatus and from 83.3 percent to 84.1 percent within mass and public organizations.

In order to further increase the women's role in and contribution to implementing the party policy and developing the entire socioeconomic activity, and in accordance with the tasks arising from the June 1983 Resolution of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee, our party bodies and organizations, the managements of ministries, and mass and public organizations have increased their concern with becoming acquainted with, selecting, training, and promoting a larger number of women to leadership positions. Thus, compared with 1980, the proportion of women increased from 16.9 percent to 26 percent in the party apparatus, from 5 to 9.3 percent in the state and economic apparatus, and from 26.8 percent to 35.5 percent in the apparatus of mass and public organizations. The proportion of women in the overall reserves has exceeded 38 percent, and 36 percent of the students of intercounty party schools and of the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy are women.

The proportion of women in leading positions in the apparatus of ministries, central departments, nationwide industrial enterprises, and contracting enterprises for construction-assembly work increased from 9.8 percent in June 1983 to 15 percent by the end of 1985.

Positive results were also scored in ensuring an appropriate ratio between older and more experienced cadres and young cadres with a thorough professional and political training and with promotion prospects. Currently, 53.7 percent of all party activists, 40.4 percent of the directors and chief engineers of industrial central departments and nationwide enterprises are under the age of 45.

Party bodies and organizations have intensified their concern with ensuring the all-round training of cadres and educating them in a revolutionary and patriotic spirit. In 1985, more than 11,000 party, UCY, and trade union activists as well as activists from the state apparatus, economic units, and the press graduated from the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy and inter-county party schools.

In order to ensure skilled workers and specialists for all national economy branches, we have developed and improved the network of all levels of education and further perfected the professional and political training of all working people.

Greater attention was paid to professionally guiding the pupils toward basic economic branches, such as mining, oil, energy, metallurgy, machine building, agriculture, and so forth.

At the end of 1985, the average number of working personnel reached almost 7.7 million, and the number of cadres with higher education about 670,000.

One can assert that, due to measures taken by the party leadership, we have ensured the necessary manpower and cadres for all sectors of activity; our party has a valuable fund of well-trained cadres from a political, ideological, and professional viewpoint, with healthy moral characteristics; they are devoted to the party and people and work with communist self-denial and responsibility to unflinchingly implement their tasks and prerogatives.

Our party secretary general Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has often stressed that the activity of party bodies and organizations is reflected in all achievements attained and all existing shortcomings. Thus, the units that have persistent shortcomings in fulfilling the quality and efficiency plan indicators, attaining the production earmarked for export and the itemized production, organizing, modernizing, and renewing production, and observing deadlines for commissioning new production capacities also reflect shortcomings in the activity of certain cadres, their poor organizational and leadership capability, their low sense of responsibility and exactingness, a lack of firmness and perseverance in overcoming difficulties, a complacent attitude, and so forth. Instead of showing initiative and firmness and resolutely engaging themselves in fully solving problems, these cadres try to excuse their failure to carry out their duties and responsibilities, show slackness, lack a sense of responsibility, and often put their own interests above the people's general interests.

As a result of such deficiencies, in 1985 we demoted or released from their positions certain leading cadres in the ministries of electric power, mines, agriculture and food industry, transportation, telecommunications, forestry, and so forth.

The unsatisfactory economic-financial results of certain units in industry, agriculture, transportation, trade, and other fields have caused the working people's general meetings from the respective units to no longer confirm in their positions certain managers and other leading cadres.

A firm attitude has not always been adopted against certain shortcomings, formalistic aspects, bureaucratic trends, and against a weakening of the revolutionary spirit in the activity of certain party bodies and organizations with regard to the formation and education of cadres. In certain cases, the release or dismissal of certain cadres from their positions for various violations and shortcomings has been done without an exacting examination of the causes which have led to these deficiencies; from such an examination, one could draw appropriate lessons on ways and means of acting and behaving and on ways to ensure the revolutionary education and consolidation of cadres and to prevent a repetition of certain violations of party-state discipline.

Certain party bodies and organizations, the management bodies of certain ministries and central institutions, and the cadre departments subordinated to them have failed to show sufficient concern for becoming closely acquainted with the political and professional qualities, experience, and capabilities of those suggested for promotion, including their behavior in the family and society.

Sometimes county party committees and the managements of ministries and central institutions have submitted for the approval of the Central Committee promotion proposals in which not all of the three candidates fulfilled the criteria and conditions established by party decisions and the laws of the country for promotion to a given position, something which led to the rejection of the respective proposals.

The distribution of cadres, particularly of higher education graduates, has not always been in accordance with the real needs of the units to which they were sent. Likewise, in spite of the fact that they lacked cadres for various sectors of activity, the managements of certain units have carelessly approved, sometimes with the agreement of ministries, the movement or transfer of a large number of cadres with higher education to other counties.

The commissions in charge of personnel employment and promotion in certain ministries, industrial centrals, and enterprises have not always taken responsible steps to select candidates and organize competitions which has led to careless transfers and appointments on various missions or to the examination of a sole candidate. Also they have not strictly observed the provisions of the law concerning the political and professional qualities of those due for promotion and have occasionally underestimated the requirement that candidates should be discussed beforehand and recommended by the working collectives amidst whom they carry out their activity.

Investigations carried out show that certain county party committees, ministries, and central institutions have a cadre reserve that still does not meet promotion requirements for management positions in their nomenklatura; this reserve contains few cadres with higher education coming from the ranks of workers, foremen, and technicians, a small number of women, and certain cadres that do not satisfy promotion criteria. At the same time, the development of reserve cadres is not being systematically supervised and there is still a lack of concern with drawing these cadres into various activities, entrusting them with increasingly more complex tasks, and training them in party schools and courses.

In the assessment of cadres, one often notices the trend to dwell exaggeratedly on moral, political, and professional qualities, without emphasizing deficiencies in work or training and other negative features.

Certain party bodies, ministries, and central institutions have shown superficiality and formalism in implementing the provisions of party decisions and laws of the state dealing with yearly evaluation reports

and ratings, so that certain cadres who were rated as "very good" had to be released from their positions shortly afterward as unsatisfactory.

The number of cadres with leadership positions promoted from the ranks of workers, both in the party and state apparatus has not always been up to the level of the guidelines and tasks established by the party leadership.

In spite of the fact that certain positive results were obtained in recent years in the promotion of women to responsible positions, there are still many units and sectors of activity where the proportion of women in management functions is lower than in the respective labor force.

Thus, although the proportion of women in the overall working personnel amounts to 39 percent, their share in management positions in ministries and subordinate units amounts to only 15.2 percent.

In agricultural production cooperatives, women represent 65.3 percent of the labor force, while their share of the positions of chairmen of these units amounts to only 11.7 percent.

In view of the very great importance of implementing the new scientific-technical revolution, disseminating the latest achievements of science and technology in all fields, and improving social organization and leadership, one can state that both county party committees and the managements of ministries have failed to organize appropriately the activity of improving cadre training and recycling the entire working personnel, and have failed to generalize the positive experience of front ranking units and localities.

Implementing the 13th party congress decisions and the targets of the Eighth 5-Year Plan--which aim at an intensive development of industry, agriculture, and other branches of the national economy--the attainment of a new quality in all fields of the material and intellectual activity, the firm application of the principles of the new economic-financial mechanism and of the self-management and self-administration in all socio-economic units and localities of the country, and developing and perfecting the revolutionary workers democracy require thorough work with the cadres, as they represent a key element in the achievement of the established objectives.

In order to eliminate shortcomings in cadre work and further improve activity in this field, it is recommended that the following steps be taken:

- 1) All party-state bodies and mass organizations should implement Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's recommendations on basing cadre work on uniform long-term plans and selecting and training cadres in accordance with the requirements of Romania's passage to a new and higher stage and with current and future needs. Party, mass, and public bodies and organizations, as well as the collective managements of ministries, enterprises, and institutions should periodically, at least once a year,

make a concrete critical and self-critical evaluation of the activity of cadres in their own nomenclature as well as of the cadre reserves and their training, by establishing appropriate measures to improve the work style and methods used in selecting, fashioning, improving, and promoting cadres.

Particular attention should be paid to generalizing advanced experience and increasing the responsibility of cadres for implementing party decisions, laws of the country, and Party Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's recommendations, in the field of cadre policy.

2) The activity of selecting, training, promoting, and educating cadres should be a constant concern of all party bodies, ministry leaderships, and leadership cadres at all levels and should be considered as a main duty of the collective management bodies. They must strictly observe the principle of collective work in promoting cadres. In all cases, high objectivity, a principled approach, responsibility, and firmness should always be shown whenever a decision is taken to appoint somebody to a certain position.

3) The most valuable cadres should be employed and promoted in the apparatus of county party committees, ministries, and centrals, as well as in their nomenclature positions. These cadres should have long practice and experience in production and the necessary training for given positions in the respective fields of activity; they must prove, through results obtained, that they are capable, that they militate for the promotion of what is new, and have a high sense of duty and responsibility in unswervingly carrying out their tasks and mission; they must show that they are characterized by honesty and modesty.

As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's report to the 13th party congress stressed, one should firmly apply legal provisions and decisions on promoting leading cadres in the state and economic apparatus through competition, thus resolutely eliminating subjective or formalistic trends. Within the time limit established by law for checking the skills and knowledge of the new employees, one should closely supervise their development and prospects, while also carefully training and guiding them so as to ensure that they can appropriately fulfill their duties.

4) In order to ensure the development of a revolutionary and militant spirit in cadres, further increase their responsibility, initiative, and steadfastness, and come to know and assess them in accordance with their contribution to carrying out tasks and duties entrusted to them, the party bodies will establish the permanent rule that party-state bodies and all cadres should periodically report on the way in which they fulfill their duties and succeed in implementing party decisions and the country's laws in their field and at their respective place of work.

One should apply more consistently the principle of rotating cadres who have worked a long time in the same position, both in the party apparatus and organs and particularly in ministries and central institutions, by aiming at those cadres that perform their jobs routinely, show inertia and a lack of initiative, complain about temporary hardships, and fail to solve their tasks appropriately.

5) Party bodies and the managements of ministries and central institutions must substantially improve their work with the supply of reserve cadres. To this end, constant steps should be taken to supplement and enlarge the cadre reserve by paying particular attention to coopting the best workers, foremen, technicians, engineers, economists, and other categories of workers who have real prospects for promotion and meet the criteria established by party decisions and the laws of the state.

Cadres from the reserve supply must be sent to courses to improve their professional and political training and to party schools and lectures; they must also be engaged in supervisory and guidance activities, in drafting various studies and analyses, and in organizing and carrying out ventures that make greater demands on their organizational spirit and competence, with a view to acquiring the necessary experience for future activities. Further action should be consistently taken to radically change the present situation, whereby certain cadres, particularly in communes, do not satisfy promotion criteria.

6) County party committees and the managements of mass and public organizations, ministries, and central institutions should strengthen the cadre sections and personnel departments and improve the activity of knowing and assessing the cadres promoted to responsible positions.

Party bodies and organizations should exercise constant control over the way in which cadres work and behave, and should relentlessly combat any violations and retrograde attitudes in work, family, and society and any violations of socialist ethics and equity.

In the future, no management cadre may be released from his position as unsatisfactory without a previous examination of the reasons for which his replacement is proposed. Each dismissal decision must be accompanied by a careful examination of the respective cadre's shortcomings, of the support granted to him by the party body, and of the steps taken and their effectiveness.

7) Party, mass, and public bodies and organizations and the working people's councils should further take consistent action to promote cadres primarily from among the ranks of workers, foremen, and technicians to responsible positions in the state apparatus, economy, and other fields. They are duty-bound to guide the best workers, foremen, and technicians, to facilitate their higher education, and thus further increase the number of cadres with higher education derived from the ranks of workers.

8) Before the end of the second quarter, the party bodies and workers' councils will examine the implementation of tasks included in the program for the promotion of women, and will take steps conducive to increasing the percentage of women in management positions up to the level of their share in the total working personnel in each unit. To this end, a larger number of women should be selected, included in the cadre reserves, and trained for responsible positions.

- 9) In the light of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's recommendations, steps will be taken to better organize the activity of improving cadre training, to raise the political, professional, technical, and economic level of cadres, and ensure that they master the skills required for management positions; periodic checks and analyses will be organized in connection with the content and full implementation of the recycling program. In order to coordinate the improvement of cadre training, a collective consisting of chiefs and deputy chiefs of RCP Central Committee sections, vice chairmen or secretaries of the managements of mass and public organizations, ministers or their deputies, representatives of the managements of central institutions in charge of the training and improvement of the labor force, and the rector and a prorector of the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy will be set up and will operate in the party Central Committee.
- 10) Party bodies and organizations, the managements of ministries and central institutions, and mass and public organizations will carry out steady and constant activity for the revolutionary education of cadres in the spirit of party discipline and the norms of ethics and morality specific to communists, with a view to preventing abuses and violations in work and behavior.
- 11) The Ministry of Education and Instruction and other ministries will take steps to ensure the necessary manpower by profession and branch of activity, in accordance with quality requirements and the scope and complexity of the country's socioeconomic development tasks for the 1986-90 period and until the year 2000; they will also act to train, allocate, and appropriately employ all graduates, particularly those with higher education. All ministries will pay greater attention to ensuring a better correlation between education, research, and production, and to improving the professional and scientific training of cadres with higher education and the entire working personnel.
- 12) The cadre section and other sections of the RCP Central Committee will increase their assistance to party bodies, mass organizations, ministries, and central institutions in implementing party decisions and the laws of the country in the field of cadre policy and will combat all shortcomings and deficiencies more resolutely.

/9604

CSO: 2700/162

RCP DOCUMENT ON FOREIGN POLICY GOALS

AU191415 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 11 Apr 86 p 5

["Documents Adopted by the 1-2 April 1986 RCP Central Committee Plenum--
On the Party-State International Activity in 1985 and the Main Foreign
Policy Targets in 1986--Abstract"]

[Text] An event of great significance in our national history, the 20th anniversary of the Ninth RCP Congress--which elected Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, a brilliant politician and statesman and a devoted revolutionary for the cause of the party and people--has turned 1985 into a jubilee year and has given us cause for profound satisfaction and patriotic pride in our people's great achievements, as well as an opportunity to strongly assert Romania on the international level.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, an eminent promoter of what is new and of original theoretical and practical theses, has instilled dynamism, and a principled approach, into our party-state foreign policy, and has broadly opened it up. This is clearly reflected in the dialogue conducted by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at home and abroad with heads of state and government from all continents, with leaders of various parties and national liberation movements, and with other figures from political, economic, and cultural-scientific life.

There were 24 high-level meetings last year, of which nine were with party-state leaders from socialist countries, eight were with presidents or prime ministers from developing countries, and seven were with heads of state and government from the developed capitalist countries. A Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation and a Romanian-Bulgarian Statement-Appeal for turning the Balkans into a chemical-weapon-free zone were signed; two joint statements and six joint communiqués were adopted; and 12 agreements and understandings on long-term economic cooperation and trade exchanges and other bilateral documents were concluded.

Likewise, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu met and had talks with 15 chairmen or general secretaries of certain parties, four prime ministers and 30 deputy prime ministers and members of various governments, two special envoys sent by heads of state, 14 parliamentary delegations, representatives of various political groupings and national and international organizations, businessmen, scientists, and cultural figures.

Romania currently maintains diplomatic and economic relations with more than 150 states from all continents. A great contribution to implementing our foreign policy was made by the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front [SDUF], the Grand National Assembly [GNA], and mass and public organizations, which have and develop ties with more than 1,700 political groupings, legislative bodies, trade unions, professional and creative associations, women, youth, students, and children's organizations, and peace movements, and with 120 international nongovernmental organizations.

1. In accordance with guidelines established by the 13th RCP Congress, our international party-state activity consistently focused on comprehensively developing relations of solidarity and cooperation with all socialist countries, primarily the neighboring ones.

High-level Romanian-Soviet contacts continued in the spirit of traditional relations of friendship, cooperation, and good-neighborliness; in this respect, particular significance devolved on talks between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev in March 1985 in Moscow as well as during participation in meetings in Sofia, Warsaw, and Prague.

The official friendship visits paid by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, together with Comrade Elena Ceausescu, to the PRC, the DPRK, and the SFRY, as well as talks conducted at home and abroad with party-state leaders from the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the CSSR, the GDR, and the Polish People's Republic have contributed, through their fruitful results, to stimulating lasting ties of friendship and cooperation with these countries, to their mutual benefit and in the interest of the cause of socialism, progress, and peace throughout the world.

In the spirit of high-level talks and understandings, meetings and exchanges of views took place between members of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and members of party-state leaderships from the USSR, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the CSSR, the GDR, the SFRY, the People's Democratic Republic of Laos, and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. In order to study party work experience, 13 foreign delegations visited Romania and eight RCP delegations were sent to various socialist countries. Mutual exchanges of propaganda cadres, study and fact-finding groups, and delegations of local party bodies, ideological institutions, and mass media took place. RCP representatives also attended various multilateral meetings and conventions of communist and workers parties from socialist countries. All this has opened up new prospects for strengthening and expanding all-round relations with all socialist countries and for increasing and diversifying trade exchanges, and economic and scientific-technical cooperation.

Romania has endorsed the extension of the validity of the Warsaw Pact, which is in accordance with our country's interests in the current international circumstances, while also reiterating our party-state determination to do everything to halt the arms race and promote security, cooperation, and peace in Europe and throughout the world.

2. Our country's relations with the developing countries registered a positive evolution in 1985. A decisive role in developing these ties was played by the official friendship visit paid to Libya by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, together with Comrade Elena Ceausescu, as well as by their reception in Romania of heads of state from Burkina Faso, Congo, Egypt, Indonesia, and Nicaragua, as well as the prime minister and chairman of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). Governmental and parliamentary contacts with these countries were concretely reflected in new agreements and ventures to expand trade exchanges, production sharing, and scientific-technical cooperation. In this respect, Romania's cooperation with other members of the Group of 77 and the nonaligned countries has registered a favorable development.

In 1985, 18 delegations of various parties and national liberation movements from developing countries came to Romania at the invitation of the RCP for talks, fact-finding missions, or exchanges of experience; five of these delegations were led by chairmen or general secretaries of these organizations. Three new party cooperation agreements were signed last year. Our party was represented at the congresses of communist parties in Venezuela and Uruguay as well as of government parties in Angola, Ivory Coast, Guyana, Mali, and Malawi. RCP delegations attended celebrations marking the 10th anniversary of Mozambique's independence and the 100th anniversary of the creation of the Indian National Congress, and paid working visits to Iraq and Syria.

3. In the light of the 13th party congress orientations, further steps were taken to ensure that our relations with the developed capitalist countries register a positive upward course, in the spirit of the principles of peaceful coexistence, equality, and mutual advantage.

The official visit to Canada by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, together with Comrade Elena Ceausescu, and the Bucharest meetings and talks with heads of state from Finland, Malta, Spain, and Turkey and with the prime ministers of Greece and Israel have contributed to identifying new opportunities for developing mutually advantageous relations in various fields, particularly in the economic and commercial spheres. This also applies to the reception by the president of the SR of Romania of the foreign ministers of the United States, Great Britain, Austria, Turkey, and the FRG, as well as many other political figures.

Twenty party delegations from 16 capitalist countries visited Romania in 1985 for talks and an exchange of experience. RCP Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu received and had talks with leaders of communist parties from Austria, Denmark, Japan, Luxembourg, Norway, and Spain and with chairmen or general secretaries of other political forces from Italy, Great Britain, Denmark, Israel, San Marino, and the FRG. RCP delegations visited Denmark, the Netherlands, Portugal, and Sweden for talks or exchange of experience and attended the congresses and other political meetings of communist parties in Canada, France, Israel, Japan, Portugal, Italy, and Spain.

Our country will continue to develop relations with developing and nonaligned countries and will also expand ties with the developed capitalist countries.

In accordance with the targets of the 1986-90 5-year plan, particular attention will be paid to commendably implementing provisions on increasing exports, diversifying and increasing the efficiency of trade exchanges,

and strongly expanding economic and scientific-technical cooperation, on
the basis of long-term agreements and contracts, so that as of this year the volume of Romania's international economic exchanges can increase by 12-15 percent compared with 1985.

Romania will continue to base its international relations on the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in the domestic affairs of other countries, mutual advantage, nonuse of force and the threat of force, and each people's right to freely decide its destiny, without any outside interference.

The RCP will unflinchingly strengthen cooperation and solidarity with communist and workers parties and will work to attain a new kind of unity based on respect for full equality and for each party's right to independently decide its political line and revolutionary strategy and tactics, and on noninterference in domestic affairs of other parties. At the same time, we will further develop ties with socialist and social-democratic parties, with other anti-imperialist parties and forces, and with national liberation movements.

Another important task will be to mark abroad the 65th anniversary of the RCP's creation.

The SDUF, the GNA, and the mass and public organizations in Romania will develop contacts and exchanges of delegations with similar bodies abroad, thus actively promoting Romania's foreign policy orientations.

Our party and state will firmly militate to halt the dangerous course of events toward confrontation and war, bring about disarmament, and resume the policy of detente, understanding, and broad international cooperation.

Proceeding from the fact that the problems of disarmament and peace can only be resolved through comprehensive measures aimed at the totality of general disarmament issues, Romania believes that, aside from a program to eliminate nuclear arms, one should also formulate a complex program of disarmament that should provide for measures on gradually and substantially reducing conventional weapons and military troops and expenditures--by at least 50 percent up to the year 2000--concurrently abolishing NATO and the Warsaw Pact as well as all military blocs, eliminating foreign military bases on the territory of other states, and withdrawing foreign troops within national borders. This program should also provide for measures to strengthen trust and security among peoples and, along with disarmament measures, it should aim at intensifying efforts to rapidly solve all

conflicts in the world through peaceful means and negotiations. Likewise, firm commitments should be assumed and resolute steps taken to end any outside interference in the domestic affairs of other states and to completely renounce force, the threat of force, and any kind of economic, political, or other pressures.

Romania will work for the attainment of concrete agreements at the Geneva Disarmament Conference and the Vienna negotiations on the reduction of troops and armaments in central Europe. Likewise, it will intensify its activity at the Stockholm conference, with a view to ensuring its successful conclusion and conditions for future negotiations on disarmament measures. At the next all-European meeting scheduled for next fall in Vienna, Romania will work for the continuation of the process of strengthening security and developing cooperation among all European states in various fields of activity, and for the adoption of new measures aimed at building a Europe of peace, detente, understanding, and cooperation.

Our country will continue to consistently speak out for strengthening trust and cooperation in the Balkans and turning this region into an area of peace and good-neighborliness, without nuclear and chemical weapons, and without foreign military bases. At the same time, we will support the creation of nuclear-free areas in northern and central Europe and other parts of the world.

In the spirit of the solemn appeal addressed, at Romania's initiative, by the UN General Assembly to all states engaged in conflicts to resolve their problems through negotiations, our country will act to settle conflicts and states of tension in various parts of the world through negotiated solutions, in accordance with the interests of peoples and the cause of international peace and security.

Our country will steadily work to strengthen solidarity and cooperation among developing countries and promote their joint action, with a view to bringing about real negotiations, under the UN's aegis, on building a new international economic order, eliminating underdevelopment, and promoting the socioeconomic progress of all peoples.

Romania will continue to work firmly for democratizing international relations and increasing the role of the United Nations and other international bodies in the constructive resolution of world problems, with the participation of all states, of small and medium-sized countries, and nonaligned and developing countries, which are vitally interested in a policy of independence, peace, cooperation, and social progress.

The entire party-state foreign policy in 1986, which was proclaimed by the United Nations as the International Year of Peace, will express the Romanian people's profound desire for peace and cooperation with all peoples and its militant solidarity with revolutionary, progressive, and anti-imperialist forces everywhere in the struggle to free mankind from the danger of a nuclear catastrophe and ensure the triumph of reason and of the ideals of peace, disarmament, freedom, independence, and progress.

/9604

CSO: 2700/162

examined how certain programs are being implemented--programs to increase labor productivity to a greater extent and to raise the technological and qualitative level of products in all areas of activity. In numerous counties, action was taken to help with some problems and to monitor how priority programs in agriculture are implemented, how agricultural campaigns and the deliveries of vegetable and animal products to the state stocks are being carried out, and how the regional self-management and self-sufficiency programs are being implemented; numerous actions were organized to perfect the work style and methods of party bodies and organizations and to constantly enhance their role as political leader and their ability to organize and mobilize all forces with a view to fully utilizing material means and funds and to strengthening the revolutionary spirit in all areas of activity.

In keeping with the guidelines put forward by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, party secretary general, the party bodies and organizations have increased their concern with a better ideological-political activity and with raising its level in order to educate the Communists and the other working people in a patriotic, revolutionary spirit. In 1985, Central Committee propagandists paid more than 2,000 visits to counties with more than 3,000 reports and consultations attended by some 600,000 communists, members of the Union of Communist Youth, cadres of the armed forces, and other working people. The ideological-political instruction focused on thoroughly acquainting participants with the 13th Congress decisions, the works of the party secretary general, and with the other party and state documents. Educational-political activity focused more vigorously on achieving the basic targets of socioeconomic development, this being reflected in the way in which the Communists and all working people fulfill their professional and political-social duties and in the devotion and selfdenial with which they implement our party's and state's domestic and foreign policy.

Special attention has been given to the application of the 13th Party Congress decisions and the recommendations made by the party secretary general regarding developing socialist democracy and seeing to it that the broad masses of working people and all workers revolutionary democracy bodies are actively participating in discussing and resolving problems, by ensuring broad consultations with all categories of citizens so that the whole nation is actually participating, in one form or another, in formulating the directions for the development of its socialist future.

The RCP Central Committee plenum noted that the great prestige of the RCP among the ranks of all categories of citizens in our homeland is also tellingly demonstrated by the fact that during 1985 more than 132,000 working people became party members, of which 65.9 percent came from among the ranks of workers, 15.7 percent from among peasants, and 18.4 percent from among engineers, economists, research, design, and educational cadres and other intellectuals, proportions which are in keeping with the guidelines established by the March 1985 RCP Central Committee plenum, thus ensuring the preservation of an appropriate social composition according to age and nationality.

On 31 December 1985, the party consisted of 3,557,205 members, almost 15 percent of the country's whole populace, being in fact a true mass party with strong ramifications and great influence in all areas of the socioeconomic activity.

Of the total of party members, some 61 percent come from the ranks of the workers and more than 15 percent from those of the peasants, a fact that demonstrates the leading position objectively held by the working class, in alliance with the peasantry, throughout the country's political-social activity, while more than 20 percent come from among the ranks of engineers, technicians, research, design, educational, medical cadres, and from among men of culture, art, and other categories of intellectuals and clerks.

Appropriate attention has been paid further to admitting women to the party; their number amounted to 1,185,351 at the end of 1985, that is 59,189 more than on 31 December 1984; thus the share of women in the number of party members is 33 percent.

The primary emphasis placed on admitting Union of Communist Youth members to party ranks has resulted in ensuring the party's youthfulness and vigor since more than 50 percent of all the communists are below 40 years of age.

By constantly changing and increasing its strength and revolutionary activity, the RCP has turned into a mass party that is constantly acting in close association with the people and for the people and that is the vital center of society and leading political force of our whole nation.

The RCP Central Committee plenum stressed that the extensive organizational-political activity carried out by the RCP to implement the 13th Party Congress decisions and the boundless trust of the working class, the peasantry, and intelligentsia, regardless of nationality, in the correctness of our party's domestic and foreign policy, and the monolithic unity and cohesion of the whole nation around the party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, brought about progress in all areas despite the difficulties caused by the economic crisis and the situation in the world economy, and by certain contradictions in the development of some sectors of the national economy. Industry, agriculture, and the other branches of the national economy continued to develop and the country's wealth and national income increased; the qualitative aspect of the intensive development of the economy improved.

An important contribution to the results registered as a whole last year was made by scientific and technological research which, under the constant guidance of Comrade Academician Dr Engineer Elena Ceausescu, first deputy prime minister of the government and chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology, ensured a constantly broader promotion throughout the socioeconomic activity of the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution, the design and introduction into the production process of new types of machines, apparatuses, and installations with superior characteristics, the production of new products and materials, the application of modern technologies, the extension of mechanization

and automation, and the achievement of new varieties of grain hybrids, industrial plants, vegetables, and fruits with particularly favorable effects on the qualitative aspect of the intensive development of the economy.

The development of the economy has permitted the more and more active participation of our country in the exchange of material values and in the international division of labor. It has permitted the achievement of the goals stipulated in the program of improving the material and cultural standard of living of our whole people, the attainment of new successes in such areas as education, culture, art, medical care, and the strengthening of socialist Romania's political prestige, national independence and sovereignty.

Stressing the progress registered in industry, agriculture, and the other socioeconomic sectors, the RCP Central Committee plenum also noted that this could have been greater if all leaderships in ministries and the other central bodies, the party bodies and organizations, the people's councils, mass and civic organizations, and the collective leaderships in economic units had acted with the necessary determination in exercising the prerogatives they have in organizing and ensuring the progress of the production process, in optimally utilizing production capacities and manpower, in rationally making use of resources, and in strengthening order, discipline, and responsibility at the work place.

Stressing the fact that Romania's transition to a new socioeconomic development stage and, beginning with 1986, the implementation of the 13th Party Congress decisions require a more and more vigorous affirmation of the party's role as leading political force in society, the improvement of the qualitative aspect of the overall activity carried out by the party bodies and organizations, a better organization of work and distribution of the labor force and cadres, the strengthening of the revolutionary spirit, responsibility, order, discipline, and control work, and an extensive activity aimed at uniting the efforts of our whole people to resolutely implement the party's general political line, the plenum establishes the following:

1. In the spirit of the guidelines put forward by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, party secretary general, the overall organizational and educational-political activity carried out by party bodies and organizations, by the state, mass, and civic organizations shall continue to focus on uniting the efforts of all working people to fulfill all plan indexes, the additional tasks, and to ensure a highly-efficient economic activity.

--The county committees and the other party bodies and organizations shall see to it throughout the year that the special programs on expanding the energy and raw material base are implemented, that the process of intensively developing all branches and sectors is speeded up, that material resources are better managed and utilized, that raw and other material, fuel, and energy consumption are reduced, that the investment program is fully

implemented, primarily in the case of projects that are to be put into operation this year, that the technological and qualitative level of products is improved, that economic efficiency is increased, and that the plan discipline in all areas is strengthened.

--The county party committees on whose territory there are energy and raw material producing units, shall pursue day by day the fulfillment of the plan by operating installations and equipment at full capacity, keeping them in operation, and by strengthening technological and work discipline.

--Great attention shall be given to how the targets aimed at organizing and modernizing the production process--initiated and formulated with the decisive contribution by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, party secretary general--are being achieved with a view to increasing labor productivity to a greater extent, promoting technological progress, reducing raw and other material, fuel, and energy consumption, and at increasing efficiency in the overall economic activity, so that all measures envisaged for the first stage are carried out by the end of the first quarter of 1986, and that the programs adopted for all areas will be completely fulfilled by the time the party national conference is convened.

--Priority will be given to smoothly fulfilling the export production plan at a qualitatively high level, to delivering export products on schedule and in accordance with the conditions established, and to increasing the competitiveness of Romanian products, thus ensuring Romania's more intensive participation in the international division of labor and in an active exchange of material assets.

--In agriculture, greater attention will be paid to judiciously utilizing lands and to using new lands for agriculture; to ensuring large-scale and local irrigation facilities and drainage, anti-soil erosion, scarification, and soil-loosening operations on lands; and to strictly applying the technologies envisaged by law in order to ensure secure and stable yields of grain, technical plants, vegetables, fruits, and grapes. At the same time, action will be taken to properly organize and manage the production process, to strengthen order and discipline, organize and pay for labor on the basis of the overall contract system, to see to it that laws and decisions are known and respected, apply the principles of the new financial-economic mechanism, and to fulfill contractual obligations in connection with delivery of agricultural products to the state stocks, and implement the program of regional self-administration and self-sufficiency.

--In animal breeding, action will be taken to firmly apply the measures aimed at increasing the number of cattle, sheep, and pigs in all agricultural cooperatives and in state agricultural units, ensuring the fodder base by increasing the per hectare output and properly utilizing the almost 4 million hectares of pastures and grasslands, thus ensuring a substantial increase in milk, meat, wool, and egg production.

2. In conformity with the 13th Party Congress directives, the county party committees and the working people's councils shall pursue the implementation of the program of increasing the contribution of scientific research and technological development to promoting technological progress in all branches and sectors of the economy; the development of the energy and raw material base of the country, the substantial increase in the technological and qualitative level of products and in the competitiveness of Romanian products, the promotion of technologies characterized by low consumption, and an increased utilization rate of all resources; the implementation of the programs on mechanization, automation, and on introducing electronics and robotics into the production process, and the other targets and tasks adopted by the Congress of Science and Education.

3. The party bodies and organizations shall take action with great responsibility to exercise the prerogatives conferred on them by the party statute and the decisions and instruments of the Central Committee with a view to fulfilling the role they play in the proper organization of the overall activity and in leading all sectors and areas in order to fulfill the tasks assigned to them by the party documents and the country's laws on schedule and at a superior qualitative level and in order to strengthen control over how the decisions of the higher bodies and their own decisions are being implemented.

--The county party committees will discuss and establish the measures for the continuous improvement of the work style and method of the party bodies and party organizations, the strong development of the internal party democracy, and for ensuring high responsibility and exactingness in leading the socioeconomic activity in all the localities of the country. Likewise, the county committees should regularly consult with the party members and the masses of working people about the measures that must be taken with a view to implementing decisions and should report on the status of their implementation. In order to increase the responsibility of the leading cadres in fulfilling the tasks and duties incumbent upon them, the practice of reporting regularly to the party bodies and organizations to which they belong should be generalized.

--The local party bodies will attach greater attention to supporting, guiding, and activating the mass and civic organizations and the other leading democratic bodies to increase their contribution in implementing the party program and fulfilling the socioeconomic development plan.

4. The state bodies in all the sectors and all the fields--ministries, industrial centers, and people's councils--will manifest more concern with continuously perfecting the work style and method in leading, guiding, and assisting the units under their jurisdiction, in firmly applying the laws, in solving the problems they have to face, and in rationally utilizing the human, material, and financial power with a view to fulfilling the state plan and implementing the additional programs; a firm stand will be taken against any tendencies of neglect and shallowness in work and against bureaucratic manifestations.

5. On the basis of the 13th RCP Congress Resolution, the party bodies and organizations will most resolutely act to strengthen the ranks of the party by admitting to the party ranks the best working people in all the fields of activity; thus an appropriate social composition and age structure will be maintained. In admittance to the party particular attention should be paid to the units which ensure the country's energy and raw material base; particularly to the new objectives in this field and to the industrial enterprises belonging to the major branches of the economy--chemistry, petrochemistry, and machine building--to transportation and telecommunications, to agricultural and other units in villages, and to the research, design, and technological engineering institutes; attention will be focused on admitting primarily workers to the party; thus, they will represent 55-65 percent of the people admitted, peasants 15-25 percent, women 45-55 percent, and Union of Communist Youth members 75-80 percent, in accordance with the active population structure in every county.

Greater concern for increasing admittance to the party ranks from the ranks of all categories of working people should be manifest in the Arad, Arges, Botosani, Cluj, Dolj, Giurgiu, Harghita, Iasi, Maramures, Prahova, Suceava, and Vrancea counties, where the share of the communists in the total of active population is far under the county average and at the same time, more attention must be given to the moral, political, and professional qualities of those who apply for the high distinction of becoming a communist. Likewise, more consistent actions will be taken for admitting women to the party ranks, particularly in Arad, Braila, Calarasi, Constanta, Dolj, Giurgiu, Ialomita, Maramures, Olt, Prahova, and Tulcea counties, where their share in the number of party members of the respective party organizations is still low.

6. The party bodies and organizations will see to it that the 13th RCP Congress decisions and the thesis and ideas of particular theoretical and practical importance included in the work of the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu are studied, discussed, assimilated, and applied. During political-ideological instruction and propaganda through conferences, in mass political work, and other ways and means of party propaganda, a strong emphasis will be placed on increasing the leading role of the party and on the scientific character and the correctness of its political line, in order to arm communists and other working people with a thorough understanding of the socioeconomic processes which take place in our country and throughout the world. Emphasis will be placed on increasing their role in implementing the entire policy of the party.

7. In the spirit of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's ideas and orientations, the party bodies and organizations, and the mass and civic bodies will see to it that the entire political-educational activity is directed towards fulfilling the regional socioeconomic development plan for 1986 and towards solving the problems which emerge from the continuous improvement of the economic activity in each unit and in every locality. Therefore, particular attention will be paid to studying and sharing advanced experience in all fields of socioeconomic activity, thus ensuring the utilization of the creative capabilities of communists and of working people and the improvement of their professional and political knowledge.

Political-educational activities will be organized with a view to forming and developing patriotic awareness and, love for the homeland, party, and people, cultivating patriotic pride for the great successes attained in the process of revolutionary changes of the country, and ensuring the active participation of working people in defending and developing state and socialist property and the national wealth. Determined actions will be taken to resolutely fight and expose the tendentious propaganda of some circles abroad, which slander the socialist realities prevailing in our country.

The county party committees will take measures to increase the activity of materialist-scientific education of the working people with a view to forming thorough scientific convictions, understanding the processes and phenomena of nature and society, being aware of the party and state position regarding religion, and taking a firm stand against retrograde, mystical, religious, and obscurantist concepts and manifestations.

The party bodies and organizations will see to it that, through the entire educational activity that is carried out, the development of the militant, revolutionary spirit of the party members and of all working people is ensured, that an atmosphere of high responsibility in fulfilling the tasks of the plan is created in all collectives, and that intransigence against the shortfalls and drawbacks and against violations of the socialist ethics and equity is being manifested.

8. Within the overall concern with continuously improving both the structures and forms of organizing various sectors of the social life and improving the work style and methods of party, state, mass, and civic bodies, particular attention will be paid to improving the organization of work at all levels, to judiciously distributing forces, and to rationally and efficiently utilizing the cadres. In this respect, during 1986, the commissions in charge of specific problems and the RCP Central Committee sections will critically examine the way in which the activity in the field they are in charge of is organized and directed, with a view to abandoning those forms and methods of work which are no longer in keeping with the current stage of the society's development, to avoiding overlapping and duplication in organizing certain actions, and to increasing the responsibility of cadres so that they can appropriately fulfill the mission bestowed upon them.

9. The sections of the RCP Central Committee and the entire party apparatus will increase the activity of granting assistance and checking every level in order to raise the quality of the entire political and organizational work to higher quotas and to continuously strengthen the leading role of the party, the stimulating force of all creative energies of the entire nation on the road of socialism and communism.

The RCP Central Committee plenum expresses its belief that our heroic workers class, peasantry, intelligentsia, and all the working people, regardless of nationality--closely united around the party and its secretary general, and led by the historic decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and by the concepts and ideas of priceless theoretical and practical value included in the works of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, brilliant example of creative application of the general laws of the dialectical and historical materialism to the concrete conditions prevailing in Romania--will act in full unity to intensively develop industry and the other sectors and to achieve a new quality of work and life, imperative to the stage which has opened and decisive for implementing the program of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and for resolutely advancing towards the communist society.

/9604

CSO: 2700/162

WORKERS CONTROL MEETING REPORT CITES FAILINGS

AU141225 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 28 Mar 86 p 2

["Report on the Organization and Operation of Working People's Control" presented at the nationwide meeting of workers control cadres, in Bucharest 27 March]

[Excerpts] Working people's control, the report on the organization and operation of working people's control stresses, is one of the most direct forms in which the working people exercise their responsibilities as producers, owners, and end users of social wealth, as they are deeply interested in developing and properly administering the resources available in order to raise the nation's level of well-being and civilization.

The report stresses that because of the persistent shortcomings on the part of some councils of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front [SDUF] and of the coordination commissions in charge of resolving the proposals made by teams and because of the fact that those proposals were underrated by some leaders of units, certain failings prevailed. These failings must continue to be the focus of responsible cadres and civic organizations.

The report points out that the causes that explain the persistence of failings also include the deficiencies that exist in the very organization and operation of working people's control; SDUF councils, coordination commissions, trade unions, and youth and women's organizations do not pay due attention everywhere to this activity of public interest and do not act with determination, consistency, and due responsibility in order to increase their social efficiency. There are cases when team members are not selected appropriately, a fact that permits people, who do not understand that they must do their duty toward the public, to be entrusted with this important mission. There are some failings also in the instruction and training of public controllers and not enough exchanges of experience are organized. There are teams which are carrying out a formal activity and superficial control which cannot yield tangible proposals to improve activity.

The coordination commissions do not guide the control activity appropriately everywhere to enable it to equally cover all areas stipulated by law. In city districts and in rural areas, working people's control is carried out

sporadically; important problems such as increasing the productive potential of privately-owned farms, refurbishing houses and courtyards, improving road conditions, and tending pastures and forests are not included in the concerns of the teams.

The report also notes that the activity carried out by the control teams is not always of a preventive nature; the teams note violations already committed and do not note in time cases of poor records, disorder, and lack of security measures for goods, thus leading to offenses. The most important failing of the SDUF councils, of the coordination commissions, and of the control teams is the lack of consistency and continuity in seeking to resolve the problems noted by controllers; records are not kept everywhere in this respect and there is no close cooperation with the state bodies, with the executive bureaus of the people's councils, and with the leadership of the units in question, so that, once noted, failings can be eliminated.

A further improvement in the quality of life in our country--the report stresses--depends first and foremost on the unswerving implementation of the party policy of constantly developing the national economy and of the great goals put forward by the 13th RCP Congress which, for the current stage, are given concrete shape in the Eighth 5-Year Plan, this year's national plan, and in the additional program of increasing the 1986 industrial production.

/9604

CSO: 2700/162

RCP CC LETTER TO ION COMAN ON BIRTHDAY

AU141327 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 26 Mar 86 p 5

["Letter Addressed by the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee to Comrade Ion Coman on His 60th Birthday"]

[Text] Dear Comrade Ion Coman: On your 60th birthday, we take particular pleasure in extending warm congratulations and best wishes for a long and happy life.

On this birthday, too, we want to express words of appreciation for the longstanding and fruitful activity you have carried out and continue to carry out among the ranks of our glorious party and for the sense of responsibility with which you act to optimally implement the tasks entrusted by the party. As a member of the Political Executive Committee and secretary of the RCP Central Committee, you are making an important contribution to implementing the domestic and foreign policy promoted by our party and state and to successfully building socialism on our homeland's soil.

Dear Comrade Coman, all of us wish you to continue to enjoy good health and work energy, so that you are able, together with our entire party, to firmly contribute to implementing the historic decisions adopted by the 13th party congress aimed at achieving a new and superior stage in our country's socioeconomic development and at ensuring its firm progress on the road of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism.

On your birthday, we wish you--with the warmest comradely feelings--the traditional: "Many Happy Returns of the Day!"

Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee

/9604

CSO: 2700/162

CONTROL CADRES LETTER TO CC, CEAUSESCU

AU141151 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 28 Mar 86 pp 1, 4

["Letter Sent to the RCP Central Committee and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu by the Nationwide Meeting of the Representatives of Working People's Control"]

[Text] Much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu: The participants in the nationwide meeting of representatives of working people's control ask you to accept, on behalf of all those whom they represent at this meeting, the assurance of their deep respect, together with warmest wishes for good health and work energy to the benefit and the happiness of the people. On this occasion, too, permit us to express our sentiments of love and recognition for the exemplary dedication with which you serve, as head of the party and country, the cause of building socialism in our homeland and raising it onto new heights of progress and prosperity, and of constantly strengthening its independence and sovereignty, and the prestige it enjoys in the present-day world.

The pride of benefiting from the attention you pay to working people's control and of knowing that this meeting, too, was convened upon your initiative, mobilizes us even more vigorously to fulfill the mandate that has been entrusted to us with civic responsibility.

Our meeting has taken place at a time when our whole people, greatly inspired by the coming 65th anniversary of the creation of the RCP, are acting with dedication and revolutionary determination to implement the historic decisions of the 13th party congress, to fulfill the 1986 national plan and additional program for industrial production under favorable conditions, and to achieve a new and better quality in all sectors of the national economy.

Recalling the glorious path of struggle and victories of our heroic party and the great achievements we registered especially during the golden era that bears your name, the participants in the discussions stressed with sentiments of great honor the profundity and scope of your theoretical thinking and your practical activity as an eminent revolutionary leader, and they stressed your exceptional merits in ensuring the homeland's progress and many-sided prosperity.

The participants in the meeting expressed their sentiments of great appreciation and recognition for the prodigious activity carried out by Comrade Academician Dr Engineer Elena Ceausescu, a frontranking militant of our party and state, and for the contribution of exceptional significance she is making to developing Romanian science, education, and culture and to implementing the 13th party congress decisions aimed at constantly improving the quality of life and the material and cultural well-being of our whole people.

The meeting noted the fact that on the basis of your recommendations and guidelines, working people's control has become today one of the most direct forms of exercising the responsibility assigned to workers, peasants, and intellectuals as producers, owners, and end users of the social wealth and is deeply interested in the proper management of the means available to the society with a view to improving the quality of life. Everything that has been achieved to improve the general well-being in the recently completed 5-year plan, the creation of hundreds of thousands of jobs, the increase in the remuneration fund of the working personnel by 1/3, meeting the people's requirements for housing in general terms, the twofold substantial increase in state allowances for children and in allowances granted to mothers, the increase in the state's sociocultural expenditures, and so forth tellingly demonstrate that the party's overall policy, all programs aimed at developing the national economy, and the tremendous revolutionary construction that is being carried out under your leadership are in the service of man, his happiness, and a better quality of life.

During the meeting, the participants followed your recommendations and examined with responsibility and exactingness the activity carried out and the necessary measures to further increase the contribution by mass control to strengthening and protecting socialist ownership.

During the meeting, we made a responsible analysis of the activity carried out by the working people's control, we had an exchange of experience which is very useful for our future activity, and we adopted measures to improve the effectiveness of mass control in keeping with the requirements of the current development stage of our society.

The debates showed that taking place within the perfected legislative framework you have ensured, enjoying the active support of state and worker control, attracting among its ranks the most skilled workers and peasants and the most competent managers, and making use of the extensive experience gained up to now, the working people's control has all necessary conditions to optimally see to it that the party decisions are firmly applied, that the country's laws are strictly respected, and that the principles of socialist ethics and equity and a conduct based on the basic moral values of our society: work, honor, correctness, and dignity are given general application in all areas.

The meeting was also an occasion for us to become thoroughly acquainted with the forms and methods of action aimed at strengthening the educational role of working people's control as you recommended. In our overall activity we

will firmly strive to create and develop a strong mass public opinion against failings and waste, against any possibility of wasting public wealth, and against any cases of conduct at variance with the interests of the citizens and society.

In conformity with the current requirements of development of the national economy, our meeting decided--in the spirit of your recommendations--that in the future working people's control should act with even greater determination to intensify concern to properly manage raw and other materials, energy, and fuels and improve quality and the technological level of consumer goods, increase labor productivity and the efficiency of the economic activity, and strengthen order and discipline with a view to optimally utilizing all resources and the overall potential of work and creativity that exist in each unit subjected to control. We will do all we can so that the public activity we carry out will contribute more actively to developing and modernizing the national economy and increasing the national income, being aware of the fact that this constitutes the only source of further increasing our people's well-being.

As you have asked us, we have pledged to organize the activity of teams better, to more thoroughly train them, and to include all sectors stipulated by law in our control by carefully and exactly seeing to it that the party and state decisions are commendably implemented and that social property is appropriately strengthened, utilized, and protected. Proceeding on the basis of the truth stressed by you so many times that any control is more effective when it prevents damage rather than reveals damage already caused, we have adopted appropriate measures to strengthen the preventive nature of control by timely notification and elimination of cases of poor management, disorder, and neglect which make offenses possible.

Aware of the fact that a further improvement in the quality of life in our homeland depends on the implementation to the letter of the party policy aimed at constantly developing the national economy, we will do all we can to increase our contribution to implementing the great goals put forward by the 13th party congress which for the current stage are given concrete shape in the Eighth 5-Year Plan, this year's national plan, and in the additional program of increasing 1986 industrial production.

Our meeting highly valued the policy of peace and cooperation promoted by socialist Romania and it valued your actions and initiative of inestimable value aimed at disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, at understanding, detente, and international security. Together with our whole people, we support this policy with all our might in the belief that it is fully in keeping with the vital interests of our nation and with the hopes of the people's masses everywhere to live in a better and more just world, without weapons and without wars.

Reasserting our complete adherence to our party's and state's domestic and foreign policy, whose inspired founder and promoter you are, much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, we want to assure you that we will do all we can so that the activity of the working people's control teams will be increasingly characterized by a revolutionary spirit and patriotic responsibility toward our socialist society, that they will better serve the cause of the Romanian people's prosperity, and that they will fully contribute to strengthening the respect and prestige our country enjoys in today's world as a result of the policy initiated and implemented under your leadership.

/9604

CSO: 2700/162

GNA DECLARATION ON INTERNATIONAL PEACE YEAR

AU211807 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 5 Apr 86 pp 1, 3

["Declaration of the Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania in Connection with the International Year of Peace" as adopted by the Grand National Assembly session in Bucharest on 4 April]

[Text] At its first session of the current year, the Grand National Assembly [GNA] of the SR of Romania--stressing the particular importance of the UN General Assembly's proclamation of 1986 as the International Year of Peace--adopts the following declaration unanimously:

1. Expressing the desire and aspirations of the whole Romanian people, who are engaged with all their efforts in implementing the comprehensive program of the country's socioeconomic development on the road of progress and civilization, the GNA solemnly reaffirms Romania's resolute determination to take firm action to eliminate the danger of war that threatens mankind and to proceed to disarmament and to achieving the noble goals of the International Year of Peace. Responding to the inspiring appeal addressed by the country's president to our whole people, the GNA once again reaffirms its determination to strengthen international cooperation and to do all it can to ensure that 1986--the International Year of Peace--will open up the road to real progress in promoting the ideals of the peoples' freedom and peace and will bring about tangible actions and understandings in the direction of halting the arms race and achieving disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament.

In a spirit of great adherence and unanimity, the country's supreme legislative forum stressed with legitimate pride President Nicolae Ceausescu's noteworthy contribution and constructive initiatives, which have great international recognition and are aimed at halting the dangerous trend of events in the international arena, at resuming the policy of detente, peace, and cooperation, and at ensuring the peoples' supreme right to peace, existence, and a free and dignified life.

The GNA reaffirms its firm support for the untiring activity carried out by the president of the republic in the service of Romania's people's vital interests and the peaceful future of the whole of mankind, and stresses the particular topicality of the recent proposals of the head of

the Romanian state on the priority goals of action within the International Year of Peace. In order to fully meet the peoples' hopes and expectations, this year Romania and its supreme legislative forum will strengthen even more their cooperation with all countries in the world, with governments, parliaments, and realistic political and peace-loving forces everywhere so as to proceed from statements to deeds, and to take tangible steps in the direction of eliminating the danger of a nuclear catastrophe, halting the arms race, primarily the nuclear arms race, and proceeding to disarmament. Everything must be done and all forces must be united to definitively eliminate the policy of force and any intervention in the domestic affairs of other countries, to resolve existing conflicts by peaceful means and negotiations alone, to eliminate underdevelopment, to establish a new international economic order, and to ensure the right of all peoples to free and independent development and their right to decide independently on their destiny. We solemnly declare that Romania's foreign activity in the International Year of Peace will constantly aim at achieving these major imperatives of the present-day world.

2. Under the current circumstances of serious tension in the international arena, the basic problem is halting the arms race and proceeding to tangible measures for disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, and ensuring a lasting peace in the world. Parliaments, governments, and decision-makers in Europe and throughout the world bear the great responsibility to take immediate action to ensure that effective agreements are reached on halting the testing, production, and deployment of new nuclear weapons, on reducing and then completely eliminating them, and on preventing the militarization of outer space. Romania believes that at this point efforts must be directed toward halting the deployment of new nuclear weapons in Europe, eliminating and dismantling intermediate-range missiles on the continent and in other parts of the world, and toward halting actions aimed at extending the arms race to outer space.

In the spirit of this constant orientation, Romania supports the program proposed by the Soviet Union on reducing nuclear weapons and eliminating the overall arsenal of nuclear weapons by the year 2000. We hope and expect the United States to join this program and to act toward achieving an appropriate accord with the Soviet Union; and we hope that in the coming period all nuclear states will apply measures aimed at the total elimination of nuclear weapons on our planet.

The GNA believes that it is necessary to do everything to reach an accord on halting nuclear tests. For this purpose, we appeal to the Soviet Union to continue the moratorium on nuclear tests and to the United States to join that moratorium! We hail the proposal by the Soviet Union on a Soviet-American summit meeting that will discuss the problem of halting nuclear tests. In our opinion, no considerations or procedural questions can and should be invoked to delay such a meeting and to hamper the achievement of an accord on halting nuclear tests! World public opinion demands a halt to nuclear tests which constitute a factor for intensifying the arms race and which have a negative effect on the climate, thus contributing to a general pollution of the environment. We advocate a general accord on halting nuclear tests by all states.

Building a world without weapons and wars also requires the drafting of a comprehensive program on general disarmament which, focusing on nuclear disarmament, is aimed at substantially reducing all conventional weapons, military troops and budgets, especially in heavily armed countries. In this respect Romania firmly advocates the prohibition of chemical weapons and the initiation of joint measures aimed at halving conventional weapons, armed forces, and military expenditures by the end of the current century; this would create conditions for promoting nuclear disarmament, for strengthening trust and international security, and would permit the huge sums of money wasted on armament to be used for boosting the socioeconomic progress of all states, primarily on developing states. This would be fully in keeping with the imperative of achieving a balance not by increasing military arsenals, but by reducing them to an increasingly lower level.

Reducing tension and increasing international trust also requires intensified efforts to achieve decisive measures for eliminating all military bases from the territory of other states, for withdrawing foreign troops within the boundary of the national territory, for reducing the share of military activity of NATO and the Warsaw Pact, and for creating conditions for simultaneously dismantling them. Romania firmly advocates the cessation of military maneuvers, including military maneuvers in international waters, of a demonstration of force at the borders of other countries, and the assumption of firm commitments to refrain from violating the freedom of navigation in international waters, and it advocates the withdrawal of military fleets of great powers from seas and oceans, so that international waters are used exclusively for peaceful purposes.

The interest of international peace and security make it more and more necessary to create zones without nuclear and chemical weapons. The GNA expresses the determination to struggle untiringly to implement the Declaration-Appeal by Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Todor Zhivkov on turning the Balkans into an area free from chemical weapons. At the same time, Romania will act consistently to strengthen cooperation and good-neighborliness between all Balkan countries to achieve a zone of peace, without nuclear weapons and foreign military bases in this area. Our country supports the creation of denuclearized zones without chemical weapons in Northern and Central Europe, and in other parts of the world.

The achievement of such measures, which are fully in keeping with the goals of the International Year of Peace, requires more than ever before strengthened cooperation among states and governments to ensure the successful progress of the proceedings of the multilateral negotiating forums in Geneva, Stockholm, and Vienna on questions of disarmament and increasing trust and security, and it requires that all problems posed be dealt with in a constructive spirit and with great responsibility, so that the proceedings of those forums can be concluded with tangible and positive results. At the same time, there is great importance in the thorough preparation of the Vienna all-European meeting on security and cooperation in Europe which is called upon to give a strong impetus to the process of building security, promoting a united Europe, peace and cooperation based

on respect for the diversity of social systems, in which all states should cooperate fruitfully in the spirit of independence and equality, without any outside interference. This desideratum must also guide the activity of parliaments of European countries, the United States, and Canada at the seventh Interparliamentary Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe that is to take place this coming summer. The GNA expresses its determination to cooperate closely with the other parliaments to contribute actively to the successful conclusion of this event and to act to continue expanding the dialogue between parliaments in Europe.

3. Taking into consideration the harmful consequences for peace and world security caused by the maintenance and even aggravation of certain conflicts, the GNA stresses that achieving the goals of the International Year of Peace requires the implementation of the solemn appeal unanimously adopted by the UN General Assembly in November 1985, at Romania's initiative, in connection with the immediate cessation of armed actions by all countries engaged in conflicts, the transition to resolving their differences by negotiations and peaceful means, and the implementation of the solemn pledge of the UN member-countries to refrain from the use or threat of force and from any intervention in the domestic affairs of other countries.

4. The peace of present and future generations cannot be built without immediately resolving--in the spirit of equity and justice--certain profoundly negative phenomena in the world economy and in international economic relations. The lack of any real progress toward eliminating underdevelopment and establishing a new international economic order and the aggravation of the problem of foreign debts have led to an unprecedented worsening of the economic situation of the developing countries, hamper the smooth development of all states, and endanger the very peace and stability of the world.

The GNA believes that the solution of these complex and acute problems imperatively requires new solutions and ways of dealing with problems in keeping with the interests of all states and with the requirements of progress and peace of the whole of mankind; it requires solutions that will eliminate any obstacles in the road of mutually advantageous economic cooperation, and will ensure the utilization of the modern achievements of science and technology for promoting socioeconomic progress in the world. Romania continues to advocate the seeking of ways for realistic negotiations within the United Nations between the developed countries and the developing countries on all problems of development and of establishing a new international economic order.

5. The continuation of the colonialist, neocolonialist, apartheid, and racial discrimination policy is an anachronistic phenomenon at the end of this century and constitutes a serious violation of the basic rights of people and nations to decide their development road independently, and is a violation of the new principles of international relations and of the very goals of the International Year of Peace. Together with the whole international community, Romania will continue to struggle with great determination to implement the inalienable right of the Namibian people to free and independent development and to halt the inhuman policy of apartheid and racial discrimination in South Africa.

6. The achievement of the goals of the International Year of Peace and the just and lasting solution of acute problems in the international arena are only possible with the direct and equal participation of all states, irrespective of size or social system and irrespective of their economic or military potential. Peace and world security can be achieved only through united action by all political figures and all world nations. Expressing the mandate entrusted to it by the people, the GNA will actively cooperate with all democratic and progressive forces in the struggle to build a bright future, achieve understanding, peace, and cooperation. The lasting basis of strengthening trust among states and of maintaining peace and security is ensured by the constant observance of the principles of national independence and sovereignty, full equality of rights, non-interference in domestic affairs, and nonrecourse to the use or threat of force.

7. The United Nations and other international organizations, including the Interparliamentary Union, are called upon to make an increased contribution to achieving these noble goals and to act consistently to harmonize the positions and efforts of all members toward developing cooperation and ensuring peace in the world. Romania is for increasing the role of the United Nations and of other international bodies in discussing and democratically solving the problems of peace, security, and international cooperation, and in ensuring the peoples' right to free and independent development.

8. Expressing the resolute desire for peace and cooperation of the Romanian people, the GNA of the SR of Romania addresses a fervent appeal to the parliaments of the European countries and to all countries in the world to act constantly to bring about understandings that will open the road to disarmament, to eliminating the nuclear danger, and to ensuring the solution of the major problems confronting mankind in the interest of all peoples and a peaceful future of mankind.

Upon this, the members of legislative forums of world states, rests the great responsibility to see to it that the International Year of Peace will not be a year of declarations and proclamations, but that it will mark an effective beginning toward disarmament, the cessation of conflicts, and the transition to a new policy of building a world of peace and understanding, without weapons and wars.

Adopting the present declaration, the GNA of the SR of Romania will act and cooperate closely with the parliaments of all states, with all peace-loving forces so that 1986--the International Year of Peace--will mark an important historic turning point in the international arena toward protecting and preserving peace, detente, security, and cooperation in the world.

/9604

CSO: 2700/162

RCP MESSAGE TO 17TH PCI CONGRESS IN ROME

AU181316 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 11 Apr 86 p 6

[Report on the RCP message to the PCI Congress presented by Miu Dobrescu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and chairman of the Party Central Collegium, on 10 April in Rome]

[Text] On behalf of the RCP, Party Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, and the working people in Romania, Comrade Miu Dobrescu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and chairman of the Party Central Collegium, extended warm comradely greetings and best wishes for success in the development of the proceedings of the 17th PCI Congress to the congress delegates, Italian Communists, and all working people in Italy.

The communists and working people of the SR of Romania, the message reads, follow with keen interest and sentiments of solidarity the political and social activity carried out by the PCI to attain renewing changes in the life of Italian society, to defend the basic rights of the Italian working people and nation, to attain their aspirations for progress and well-being, and to ensure the triumph of the cause of socialism, peace, and cooperation in the world.

Our people, under the leadership of the RCP headed by Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, are currently engaged with all their creative might in implementing the vast program for the country's continuous development adopted by the 13th party congress, the message reads. Within the framework of our fatherland's socioeconomic construction, we lay particular emphasis on intensively developing production, utilizing raw and human resources with maximum efficiency, substantially increasing labor productivity, elevating the quality and technical level of the whole of production, carrying out the new scientific-technical revolution, and achieving intensive and highly efficient agriculture. We also work to develop and improve relations of production and social relations, increase the party's leading role, further expand the framework for the active and direct participation of the workers class, peasantry, intelligentsia, and all the people in organizing and running the society, and to raise the people's level of material and cultural civilization.

The RCP considers that the present international situation is particularly serious and tense as a result of the arms race, primarily the nuclear arms race, and as an outcome of the existence of many states of conflict and tension, the world economic crisis, and the policy of force, threat of force, and brutal interference in the domestic affairs of other states. All this has led to an unprecedented aggravation of international relations and to an increase in the danger of a new world war, which would inevitably turn into a nuclear catastrophe.

In mankind's long history there has never been such a danger to the existence of civilization, life, and the freedom of peoples. Therefore, in the opinion of Romania and Party Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the key problem of today's work is to defend peace, halt the arms race, proceed to concrete steps for disarmament and the elimination of nuclear weapons, and ensure the right of nations to existence, peace, and life.

Our party hailed and fully supported the Soviet Union's initiatives and proposals for a 50 percent reduction of nuclear weapons and a halt to nuclear tests and the militarization of outer space. We particularly value the important program proposed by the USSR to eliminate the entire arsenal of nuclear weapons by the end of this century, and we believe that no effort should be spared to implement it.

At the same time, the message reads, it is necessary to take resolute steps to substantially reduce troops, conventional armaments, and military expenditures, renounce force, and solve all contentious problems between states through negotiations alone.

Our party and state believe that everything should be done to successfully conclude the Stockholm conference on strengthening trust and bringing about disarmament in Europe, and the Vienna negotiations on reducing troops and armaments in central Europe, as well as to ensure the smooth development of the Geneva Disarmament Conference.

In light of the importance of nuclear and overall disarmament and of peace, the RCP believes that now more than ever before the political forces and nations throughout the world should pool their efforts--overcoming any differences concerning their social systems and political, philosophical, or religious concepts--and should act to halt the dangerous course of events toward a nuclear catastrophe, to save mankind from destruction, ensure the right of peoples to free and independent development, and promote a new policy of detente, peace, and cooperation among all nations.

In our party's opinion, the solution of all complex problems facing mankind requires that one should proceed from basing relations among states unswervingly on the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, mutual advantage, nonuse of force and the threat of force, settlement of all contentious problems between states through negotiations alone, and observance of each people's right to choose its socioeconomic development path without any outside interference.

In the current international circumstances, the message reads, we believe that everything should be done to strengthen cooperation among communist, workers, socialist, and social-democratic parties and other democratic and workers forces--on the basis of principles of equality and mutual respect and each party's right to formulate its political line and revolutionary strategy and tactics, in accordance with the historical, national, and social conditions prevailing in its own country--in the joint struggle for national freedom and independence, detente, cooperation, peace, and progress throughout the world.

In conclusion, the message wishes complete success in implementing the decisions to be adopted by the congress and in the PCI's future activity devoted to defending and promoting the interests of the Italian working people and nation, and the cause of peace, security, and social progress.

/9604

CSO: 2700/162

BRIEFS

IRANIAN PRESIDENT THANKS CEAUSESCU--To His Excellency Mr Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania. Your Excellency, I confirm the receipt of the greeting message you sent on the occasion of the anniversary of the victory of the Iranian Islamic Revolution, for which I am deeply grateful to you. I express my thanks and in turn, I convey to you wishes for complete success and to the Romanian people, wishes for prosperity and well-being. Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 6 Apr 86 p 5] /9604

MESSAGE TO SYRIA'S AL-ASAD--To Comrade Hafiz al-Asad, president of the Syrian Arab Republic: On the 40th anniversary of the proclamation of independence of the Syrian Arab Republic, I take particular pleasure in conveying to you warm greetings and most sincere congratulations, on behalf of the Romanian people and on my own behalf. The Romanian people follow with interest and sympathy the achievements attained by the friendly Syrian people and their efforts on the road of the independent socio-economic development. I express my satisfaction with the continuous development of the relations of friendship and cooperation between our countries and I believe that, through joint efforts, the Romanian-Syrian relations will further increase in the future, both on bilateral level and in the international arena, in the spirit of the talks we held and the understandings we reached, in the interests and for the well-being of our peoples, the cause of peace and international detente. I extend to you best wishes for health and personal happiness and wishes for progress and prosperity to the friendly Syrian people. Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 17 Apr 86 p 5] /9604

USSR'S RYZHKOV GREETES ROMANIAN LEADERS--To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania; to Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the SR of Romania; flying over the territory of the SR of Romania, I extend to you and to the whole Romanian people cordial greetings and wishes for success in socialist construction. N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 2 Apr 86 p 5] /9604

BIRTHDAY MESSAGE TO KIM IL-SONG--To Comrade Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Korean Workers Party [KWP] Central Committee and President of the DPRK, Pyongyang. On the occasion of your birthday, I take particular pleasure in conveying to you sincere greetings and best wishes for health and happiness on behalf of the RCP Central Committee, the State Council and the Government of the SR of Romania, the entire Romanian people, and on my own behalf. Your long-standing revolutionary activity and tireless work, full of self-denial in the service of the party and the homeland, are closely related to the outstanding successes attained by the Korean people under your leadership on the road of building socialism and constructing a free, united, and prosperous country. On this occasion I would also like to highlight that our meetings and the talks we held in Bucharest and Pyongyang, and the understandings we reached on those occasions, were events of particular importance for strongly boosting the relations of friendship and cooperation between our parties and countries, in the interest of the free and independent development of the Romanian and Korean people, the general cause of socialism, peace, and understanding throughout the world. On this occasion I would also like to extend to you, dear friend Kim Il-song, our wishes for a long life and for ever greater successes in your activity devoted to the prosperity of the friendly Korean people and to fulfilling their supreme national aspirations for the peaceful and independent reunification of the homeland. Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 15 Apr 86 p 6] /9604

CEAUSESCU MESSAGE TO AL-ASAD--To Comrade Hafiz al-Asad, general secretary of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party and president of the Syrian Arab Republic, Damascus. On the occasion of the 24th anniversary of the founding of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party I convey to you warm greetings and best wishes for prosperity and peace to the friendly Syrian people. I express my belief that the relations of friendship and cooperation between our parties and countries will continuously develop in the interests of the Romanian and Syrian people and the cause of peace in the Middle East and throughout the world, of detente and international understanding. Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 8 Apr 86 p 3] /9604

MONGOLIA'S BATMONH THANKS CEAUSESCU--To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania. Esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu; Allow me to extend to you and through you to the RCP Central Committee, the State Council of the SR of Romania, and to the fraternal Romanian people sincere thanks for the warm greetings and the best wishes you conveyed to me on the occasion of my 60th birthday. I express my belief that, the relations of friendship and fruitful cooperation between our countries will strengthen and increase for the benefit of our peoples and in the interest of consolidating the whole socialist community and for the triumph of the cause of peace and socialism. I take this opportunity to convey to you and to the working people of fraternal Romania wishes for continuous great successes in implementing the 13th RCP Congress decisions. Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the Central Committee

of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic. [Text]
[Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 29 Mar 86 p 5] /9604

CEAUSESCU CONGRATULATORY CABLE TO NATTA--To Comrade Alessandro Natta, PCI general secretary. Your election as PCI general secretary gives me the pleasant opportunity to extend to you warmest congratulations and wishes for new successes in the activity of high responsibility bestowed upon you. I express my belief that the good relations of friendship and cooperation existing between the RCP and the PCI will continue to develop in the interest and for the benefit of the two parties and peoples, the cause of detente, understanding, and peace in Europe and throughout the world. Nicolae Ceaurescu, RCP secretary general. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 16 Apr 86 p 5] /9604

CSO: 2700/162

BRIEFS

'SOURCE' REJECTS CHARGES AGAINST DIPLOMATS--Prague, 4 May (AFP)--Accusations against five Czechoslovaks, four of them diplomats, whose expulsions from Sweden were announced Friday, were "totally unfounded" an authoritative source told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE here Sunday. Prague, in line with usual policy, has not reacted officially to the expulsion order, which has not been mentioned in the national press. The Swedish Foreign Ministry on Friday announced the expulsion of four diplomats and the Stockholm director of the Czechoslovak national airline CSA, accusing them of "intelligence activities incompatible with their official status in this country." The expulsions were part of an "anti-socialist and anti-Czechoslovak campaign," the same source said here. [Text] [Paris AFP in English 1912 GMT 4 May 86] /9604

CSO: 2020/132

SUMMARIES OF MAJOR EINHEIT ARTICLES, APRIL-MAY 1986

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 41 No 4/5, Apr-May 86 (signed to press 18 Mar 86) pp 476-477, 479-480

[Summary of article by Erich Honecker, SED CC general secretary, chairman of GDR State Council; pp 291-296. A full translation of this article is published in this report]

[Text] The Decisive Lessons from the History of the German Workers' Movement

Ever since Wilhelm Pieck and Otto Grotewohl put an end to the unfortunate split of the working class at the unity party congress, our party has pursued a course the results of which amply underscore the historic significance of the decisions reached at that time. Tempered and strengthened by the four decades of revolutionary struggle, the SED, the prime force of our society, is mobilizing all creative forces for the benefit of the people and, true to the spirit of Ernst Thaelmann, is making a great contribution to the preservation of peace in its unshakable fraternal alliance with the party and the land of Lenin.

[Summary of article by Horst Dohls, SED Politburo member and SED CC secretary; pp 297-302. A full translation of this article is published in this report]

[Text] On the Unity and Cohesion of Our Marxist-Leninist Party

From the very start, a major process of maturation has been going on inside our party. What are its most outstanding sources ? What impulses for the strengthening of the fighting power of the party grew out of the implementation of the policies of the 8th party congress in particular ? What indications are there for this process of maturation as preparations are made for the 11th party congress ? Consequences are drawn for the activities of the leading party institutions, every party organization and each individual communist which help prepare for the fulfillment of future tasks.

[Summary of article by Kurt Hager, SED Politburo member and CC secretary; pp 304-313]

[Text] A Turning Point of Historic Significance

Report on 27th party congress of the CPSU and the policies adopted there as a result of intensive and creative effort as well as constructive and critical debate to promote the acceleration of socioeconomic development in the Soviet Union and the strengthening of peace. Also, on the direction toward a turning point in the social life of the Soviet Union and in international political life and on the creative enrichment of Marxist-Leninist theory provided by the political report of the CC to the 27th party congress and the new version of the CPSU program.

[Summary of article by Egon Krenz, SED Politburo member and SED CC secretary; pp 314-321. A full translation of this article is published in this report]

[Text] Our Worker-Peasant Power--Guarantee for the Free Development of the People's Creative Powers

Genuine popular sovereignty; realization of human rights; a broad-based alliance of all the political and social forces of the people; an economic and social policy dedicated to the people's welfare; wide-ranging participation of the citizenry in the management of the state and the economy; the reliable political credo based on a constructive peace policy which makes every effort to prevent war from ever originating on German soil again--the indispensable prerequisite for all this is the secure power of the working class under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party and its further strengthening.

[Summary of article by Guenter Mittag; pp 322-328]

[Text] Combines Are Meeting Qualitatively New Responsibilities

Under the leadership of our party, the GDR has created a modern, efficient economy dedicated to the welfare of the people. It is facing the tasks which result from the dynamic development of the productive forces and is able to meet them successfully as part of the community of CEMA countries--particularly by making coordinated use of the scientific-technological revolution and the advantages of socialism. The qualitatively new steps which must now be

undertaken represent a great challenge for the combines. As the obligations entered into by their collectives in conjunction with the 11th party congress show, the workers are willing and able to meet this challenge.

[Summary of article by Inge Lange; pp 329-333]

[Text] Women--Active Participants in the Development of a Socialist GDR

The buildup of socialism has radically altered the social position of women. An outstanding role in this process was played by the 8th party congress. It adopted resolutions on the establishment of a developed socialist society, charted the course of the main task which unified economic and social policy and also laid down the long-range guidelines for the further social development of women. The article describes the changes which have since taken place in the life of women--in the social sphere, on the job and in the family--and shows that women have played an outstanding part in everything we have achieved in the GDR.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Ernst Diehl, member of the SED CC; deputy director of the Institute for Marxism-Leninism of the SED CC; chairman of the Council for Historiography of the GDR; member of the GDR Academy of Sciences; pp 334-340]

[Text] In the Spirit of Ernst Thaelmann--Our All for the Welfare of the People

What Ernst Thaelmann, who headed the KPD, lived and fought for has become a reality in the GDR. Under the leadership of the SED, a policy is being pursued that is dedicated to the welfare of the people and the preservation of peace--true to his legacy and the meaning of socialism.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Walter Wimmer, deputy department head at the Institute for Marxism-Leninism of the SED CC; pp 341-346]

[Text] Leader of the Revolutionary Labor Movement

The article deals with the activities and the historic role played by the most outstanding German political figure of the era between the two imperialist world wars--a man who dedicated his whole life to serving his class and his people. Which personality traits of Thael-

mann's are particularly impressive ? How was it that his name became synonymous with the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism ?

[Summary of article by Johannes Chemnitzer, member of SED CC; first secretary of bezirk executive of SED Neubrandenburg; pp 353-358]

[Text] In the Service of Peace and Socialism

Between November 1983 and June 1985, some very important decisions were reached both on the national and the international level. In pursuing the policies drawn up in the main by Erich Honecker, our party proved to be in step with the times. The conclusions appropriate to the requirements of the struggle were drawn in a timely fashion and with an eye to the future so as to be able to continue pursuing the policies dedicated to the well-being of the people and the preservation of peace which had been outlined in the party program. The texts contained in volume 10 of Erich Honecker's "Speeches and Articles" offer convincing proof of this.

[Summary of article by Oskar Fischer, member of the SED CC; minister for foreign affairs; pp 359-364. A full translation of this article is published in this report]

[Text] Peace, Peace and One More Time: Peace

The issue of war and peace appears today, in the nuclear age and in view of the threat of the self-annihilation of mankind, in a totally new guise. War can no longer serve as a continuation of politics by different means. The categorical imperative of our time is to assure lasting peace. This goal is taken into account by the proposals of the USSR to rid the world of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction by the year 2000 and to establish an all-encompassing system of international security. This also is the goal of the common peace policy of the entire socialist community to which the GDR is making an active, creative and internationally respected contribution.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Harald Neubert, director of the Institute for International Labor Movements of the Academy for Social Science of the SED CC; pp 365-370]

[Text] Socialist Patriotism and Proletarian Internationalism As Reflected in the Policies of Our Party

The unity of national and international concerns based on the historical traditions of the revolutionary labor movement has been a fundamental aspect of the struggle of our party which has always performed its patriotic duty toward the population of the GDR and discharged its internationalist responsibilities toward the entire communist movement and all the forces of social progress and peace. Dedicated to its policy of providing for the well-being of the people and the preservation of peace, it views the fighting alliance with the party and the land of Lenin as the foundation for certain progress by the GDR along the path of creating a developed socialist society.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Otto Reinhold, member of SED CC; dean of the Academy for Social Science of the SED CC; member of the GDR Academy of Sciences; non-resident member of the USSR Academy of Sciences; member, EINHEIT editorial board; pp 371-376]

[Text] Socialist and Scientific-Technological Revolution

In disputing the bourgeois interpretation of the socially neutral character of science and technology, the article points out that the socialist revolution and the scientific-technological revolution represent a unified whole. In what way does our economic strategy, which is the pivotal aspect of our view of society, take the economic and social requirements of the scientific-technological revolution into consideration? How can we tell and how can we make sure that man will continue to be the center of all activity--even in the computer-assisted age?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Manfred Banaschak, department head of SED CC; editor-in-chief, EINHEIT; pp 377-383]

[Text] Peace and Socialism--Our Party's Platform

With regard to the need to preserve peace and to promote the continuing economic and social development of our country our party program is in step with the times. It has proven its worth as a scientific strategy for the establishment of developed socialism in the GDR; it meets all the major demands at the threshold of the new millennium; it relates to the present; it is oriented toward the future and leaves room for political creativity in accordance with changing conditions.

[Summary of article by Guenter Ehrensperger, economics diplomate; member of SED CC; SED CC department head; pp 384-389]

[Text] High Labor Productivity--the Key to Victory of the Socialist Social System

Substantial increases in labor productivity are the most important source of economic growth for constant improvements in satisfying the needs of the people, in providing for the welfare of the population and in preserving peace. What are the methods employed by combines which achieve annual growth rates in labor productivity of 10 percent or more ? What role do the key technologies play in this regard ? What are the impulses originating from the integrated program of the CEMA member nations to achieve scientific-technological progress by the year 2000 ?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Helmut Koziolk, member of SED CC; director of the Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management of the SED CC; chairman of the Council for Economic Research; member of the GDR Academy of Sciences; member, EINHEIT editorial board; pp 390-397]

[Text] Economic Growth in the Service of Mankind

Starting with the main task resolution adopted by the 8th party congress and leading on to the establishment of the economic strategy and its consistent implementation, our economic policy plans have been becoming more and more comprehensive in keeping with the requirements of creating developed socialism. What is the logical basis for this plan and what conclusions has our party drawn from it ?

[Summary of article by Dr Herbert Weiz, member of SED CC; deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Minister for Science and Technology; pp 398-404]

[Text] New Dimensions of Socialist Economic Integration

The article deals with the integrated program of scientific-technological progress in its relationship to the peaceful uses of scientific-technological achievements. Particularly through the development and use of key technologies, the program provides for new possibilities and conditions favorable to a decided speedup in scientific-technological progress. The consequences accruing to the GDR as a result will become a solid component of our economic strategy.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Werner Scheler, member of SED CC; president of GDR Academy of Sciences; pp 405-411]

[Text] Basic Research for Tomorrow's GDR

Research for the benefit of man, imbued with a sense of responsibility for his well-being, must penetrate far into the future in order to establish the foundations today that will enable the achievements of modern science to emerge tomorrow. What are the future-oriented fields on which the GDR academy of sciences is concentrating its research potential ? In what areas is the ever closer integration of research and production taking place and how does it work ?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Kurt Krambach, research department head at the Institute for Marxist-Leninist Sociology of the SED CC Academy of Social Sciences; pp 412-417]

[Text] On the Transformation of Our Villages

What changes have taken place in the nature of production, in working and living conditions, in the social structure and in social relations in the rural areas.

[Summary of article by Dr Margot Honecker, member of SED CC; minister for public education; pp 418-423]

[Text] Preparing Young People for the Start of the Next Millenium

A high level of general education is one of the most important prerequisites for continued social development and the ability to cope with scientific-technological progress under socialist conditions. The more the realm of human decisions expands and the scope of individual activity increases, the more important the role of socialist ideology becomes as a guiding principle. To educate the active individual whose attitudes and actions are characterized by a sense of responsibility for society as a whole--that is the challenge confronting the schools and all social institutions.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Erich Hahn, member of SED CC; director of the Institute for Marxist-Leninist Philosophy of the SED CC Academy of Social Sciences; member, GDR Academy of Sciences; pp 424-429]

[Text] On the Dialectics of Ideal and Reality

The history of socialism is marked by the systematic realization of the fundamental ideals of the working class and of all progressive men and women. What is the basis of the guiding and reality-shaping power of our ideals ? Why are they of growing importance for the ideological struggle of our time ? How does our party deal with the dialectics of ideal and reality in the process of creating a developed socialist society ?

[Summary of article by Prof Willi Sitte, president of the GDR League of Graphic Artists; member, GDR Academy of Fine Arts; pp 430-435]

[Text] Toward a Socialist-Realist Fine Arts

As an expression of the artist's view of reality, socialist realism constitutes the mainstream of artistic development in our socialist national culture. How are we to build on this rich traditional heritage and how, above all, are we to use it in order to shape the working class ? The author states his own positions and experiences as an artist in order to enrich the dialogue between the artistic community and the public on partisanship, solidarity with the people and socialist ideas in our fine arts and to encourage further development of partnerships in the commissioning of works of art.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Hans Koch, member of SED CC; director of the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Culture and Fine Arts of the SED CC; pp 436-441]

[Text] Intensively Expanded Reproduction and Cultural Life

The creation of a developed socialist society as an organic whole calls for progress in the various areas of social life and for purposefully designed relations between them. Pursuing the relations between economics and culture included therein, the article deals with conceptual questions relating to cultural leisure activities, e.g. what kind of role should natural science and technology and recreational cultural-creative activities play ? Efficient use of time in all spheres of life is of growing importance for personality development.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Guenter Benser, deputy department head at SED CC Institute for Marxism-Leninism; pp 442-447]

[Text] On the Unification of the KPD and SPD Into the Socialist Unity Party of Germany

Drawing on fundamental historical experience, the working class created a unified, revolutionary fighting party for itself when it established the SED. It was the outcome of a decade-long struggle for the revolutionary unity of the working class; a historic victory over imperialism and opportunism and the basis of all the achievements of working people in their fight for peace, democracy and socialism. What were the stages along the way toward a revolutionary unity party ?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Max Schmidt, director of the Institute for International Politics and Economics of the GDR; chairman of the council for scientific research of imperialism; member, EINHEIT editorial board; pp 448-453]

[Text] The Vital Strength of Lenin's Theory of Imperialism

The creative application of Lenin's theory of imperialism provides the key for the analysis of the functioning, the contradictions and the present trends of capitalism, of the deepening of its general crisis and the aggressiveness of imperialist policies. What are the characteristics of the new stage of imperialist monopolization ? What are the ideas underlying conservative adaptation strategy ? How can the gap between the intentions and capabilities of present-day imperialism be explained ?

9478

CSO: 2300/322

HONECKER OUTLINES SED HISTORY, PROSPECTS

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 41 No 4/5, Apr-May 86 (signed to press 18 Mar 86) pp 291-296

[Article by Erich Honecker, SED CC general secretary, chairman of the GDR State Council: The Decisive Lessons from the History of the German Workers' Movement"]

[Text] 40 years ago, on 21 April 1946, at the joint party congress of the KPD and the SPD which created the SED, Wilhelm Pieck's and Otto Grotewohl's symbolic handshake at last put an end to the deplorable split of the working class. It was a great and moving moment; the start of a new chapter in the history of the German workers' movement. It drew the decisive conclusion from the past that the working class can only fulfill its historic mission of burying the world of exploitation and oppression and building a new, socialist world of genuine freedom and human dignity, if it establishes its unity on a revolutionary foundation.

Since that time, the SED has pursued a course the achievements of which have fully borne out the historic significance of the decision which was reached then. Thanks to the strength of the unified working class which served as a rallying point for all other working people the life of our people has changed for the better as a consequence of the anti-fascist, democratic transformation and the socialist revolution which is leading to the creation of the developed socialist society of today. As the first workers and peasants state on German soil the GDR was created and has been making progress ever since. Characterized by political stability and moving forward on the strength of its economic dynamism, it now occupies one of the front ranks among the strongest industrial nations on earth. Recognized worldwide in accordance with international law and enjoying equal rights internationally, it is among the most determined defenders of peace and among those nations which speak out on behalf of cooperation instead of confrontation and on behalf of disarmament and détente. Its fraternal and eternally unshakable ties to the Soviet Union and its anchoring within the socialist community of nations represent the firm foundation of its fortuitous development. As a result, it can tackle tasks at a far higher level and of much wider scope up to the turn of the millenium than anyone would have dared dream of back then.

As one looks back over the work our party has done and over the achievements of its policies which often enough were won only after extremely sharp confrontations with the imperialist adversaries of socialism, then one can see that it has passed its historic test. It has gained valuable experience in domestic and foreign policy; it has grown with the times and has strengthened its ranks. One may justly say that the SED has turned out to be the most successful political party on German soil. On the basis of its program, our people is turning the ideas of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels into reality in the land of their birth and is implementing the immortal teachings of Lenin. In a life which is free of the exploitation of man by man, it is directing its creativity and its achievements toward goals which are conducive to its own well-being. As we continue shaping the developed socialist society in the GDR in accordance with the decisions to be adopted by the 11th party congress, we are creating the basis for the gradual transition to communism.

The creation of the SED has turned out to be "the unshakable rock," as Wilhelm Pieck put it at the first party congress of the SED on which our people has been able to build its happy existence. Following the victory of the Soviet Union and its allies over Hitler fascism; following liberation, our prime task was to establish the unity of the working class and to secure it. The split in the German workers' movement caused by imperialism and opportunism which became totally apparent at the start of World War I had disastrous consequences for the German working class and the German people--not to mention the international consequences. In order to curb aggressive German imperialism, what was needed most of all was the united and resolute strength of the working class.

This insight for which the KPD under Ernst Thaelmann's leadership had unceasingly been fighting in its struggle against imperialism, militarism and the threat of war bore plentiful fruit in the frontlines of the anti-fascist resistance movement both inside the country and in exile; in the penitentiaries and concentration camps of the Nazis where communists, social democrats, unionists and other anti-fascists were tortured and killed. To create the unity of the working class was the legacy bequeathed to us by innumerable fighters against fascist barbarism. Immediately following the liberation from Hitler fascism, the working class' will to unity became stronger and more pronounced than ever before among its political parties and organizations.

Even in those days and months, the KPD took the historical lesson to heart that a stable and lasting unity is only possible on a revolutionary basis and that the groundwork for it must be laid through unified action in the fight for common goals. In its appeal dated 11 June 1945, the KPD pointed the way for all anti-fascist-democratic forces to overcome hunger, need and desperation, By doing so, it provided the working masses with confidence in their own strength and with hope for a better future. The SPD's Berlin central executive, headed by Otto Grotewohl, concurred in the KPD program of action in an appeal of its own, dated 15 June 1945.

This created the necessary conditions for collaboration as never before in the history of the German workers' movement.

The KPD appeal was directed toward the establishment of anti-imperialist democratic conditions and the total eradication of the socio-economic, political and spiritual roots of fascism and militarism. A careful study of the objective and subjective conditions of the class struggle indicated that the potential for an immediate socialist revolution did not yet exist. But even this document already stressed the possibility of a continuation of the anti-fascist-democratic transformation toward socialist revolution. The most important thing was that the working class, under the leadership of its revolutionary vanguard, would have to make its hegemony a reality; that it would have to seize crucial positions of power and to strengthen the alliance with other working people while doing so. In this manner, the anti-fascist-democratic united front of the two worker parties could be put to the practical test and the unification of the KPD and the SPD into a revolutionary fighting party (the SED) could be prepared on a politico-ideological and organizational basis.

A great many problems had to be resolved jointly by communists and social democrats and other activists of those early days--frequently in the face of crisis situations of the class struggle. We recall with gratitude that we were able to rely in these situations on the protection of the Soviet army and the counsel and assistance of innumerable Soviet communists. We did not have to wait long for success. The democratic land reform program established a solid foundation for the alliance between the working class and the farmers who work the land. This was one of the first high points in the transformations we achieved as part of the fierce class struggle. The fact that unified democratic mass organizations--foremost among them the FDGB and the FDJ--had been called into being made a major contribution to the unity of the working class and to the establishment of unified revolutionary fighting positions. Thus, the creation of our Socialist Unity Party represented a process which was closely tied to life and characterized by profound democratic ideals.

The imperialist powers spared no effort in disparaging, paralyzing and breaking our will to unity. Blinded by anti-communism, it was difficult for some to see through the imperialist strategy. But in the end, there was no stopping the urge toward unity and the will of millions to take the lessons of history to heart. In the intellectual confrontation connected with the unification process which was patiently and convincingly conducted, the goal was to achieve a joint program on behalf of the class interests of the workers and the working population as a whole. For this reason, the influence of bourgeois--and particularly of opportunistic and revisionist--ideology which had been gaining ground since the turn of the century had to be overcome.

The SED may say of itself with some justification that it embodies and carries on the revolutionary traditions of the German workers' movement, the alliance of communists, the revolutionary wing of German social democracy and of the KPD. As the party of the working class and of the working population as a whole and as a voluntary fighting alliance of like-minded people, it has proven its ability of political leadership of society. It generated and implemented a strategy and tactics on the basis of which socialism--in keeping with the revolutionary process throughout the world--has also firmly established itself on German soil, in the GDR--and our state has developed into a reliable pillar of socialism and peace in the heart of Europe.

The manifesto of the unification party congress contained a pledge by our party to fight and work for the well-being of the people, which is the most solemn mission of the righteous cause of the workers' movement. Our will and our activities have been directed toward this end at all times. In close alliance with all working people and in friendly collaboration with the parties and mass organizations united in the National Front of the GDR, our party has pointed out and pursued the course which has shown to everyone that his own hard work is of value. Social security, full employment, a high level of education and equal opportunity for all, active participation in management and planning and in the use and the growth of the treasures of science and culture characterize the daily life of our people and provide the incentive for further strengthening our socialist fatherland through the performance of great deeds.

The policy of the main task, unifying economic and social goals, initiated by the 8th party congress of the SED, represents a particularly successful stage of social progress. In spite of a great deal of international turbulence, the GDR has been able to maintain and build on its position among the leading industrialized nations. Recognized throughout the world in accordance with international law, it takes part in international life on the basis of equality--last but by no means least, as a member of the United Nations. Its citizens are at home in one of the freest nations of the world, developing their creative powers in the service of goals which serve the welfare of mankind. Crisis experiences, mass unemployment or "new-style poverty" such as are characteristic for everyday life under capitalism are known to a great many of us only from history or hearsay.

An individual can only be truly free, if he is no longer subject to the law of the jungle where profit is king and rules over all aspects of life. He will only be able to attain his full stature, if he is given the opportunity to use, to test and to enlarge upon his skills and talents in the kind of work which serves his own needs and those of society. This genuine opportunity is afforded to him by socialism as it is being built in the GDR under the leadership of the working class and its party, the SED. Insofar as our party is able to meet the constantly rising challenges of its own development and finds timely solutions to newly emerging problems while taking the interconnected requirements and processes of national

and international life into account, its policies will be viewed as well-founded and deserving of trust. This is the kind of policy which speaks to the needs of the people.

Our party agenda provides us with a long-range, tried-and-true direction which will also become a part of our deliberations and decisions at the 11th party congress. The focal point of our social policy is our economic strategy and its focal point in turn is comprehensive intensification which combines the advantages of socialism with the scientific-technological revolution. Using the achievements we have made as our starting point as well as the requirements for a dynamic development of modern production, our party congress will determine what is to be done in order to assure the continuation of the kind of economic growth which will enable us to raise the material and cultural living standard of our people in accordance with our plans. Today, more than ever, this economic growth will be determined by our utilization of the most up-to-date achievements of science and technology, e.g. microelectronics, robotics, CAD/CAM systems, computer science, laser technology and biotechnology of which widespread use is being made.

The rapid development of the forces of production is proceeding apace on a worldwide basis as is the widespread introduction and application of high technology. To keep abreast of these developments and to fight for top positions in various important fields is an urgent need for our country. We are facing these challenges of the future without, however, neglecting the work we must be doing in the present and are opening up new and wide areas of creative activity in which the advantages of socialism must play an ever more important role. As always, man continues to occupy the central position--with his capabilities, his interests and his needs.

One of the characteristic advantages of our society is a well-functioning modern system of socialist economic planning. Our party has always been paying close attention to its perfection. On the basis of democratic centralism, it embodies with steadily growing efficiency the combination of central state management and planning and the individual initiative and responsibility of the combines, plants and cooperatives and the creative drive of working people and their collectives.

One guarantee for our progress is the eternally indestructible fraternal association with the CPSU and the Soviet Union and the firm anchoring of the GDR in the socialist community. Within the framework of the long-range program of cooperation between the GDR and the USSR in science, technology and production up to the year 2000 as well as the corresponding programs with other fraternal nations, our countries are opening up a new era of economic and scientific-technological cooperation and socialist economic integration. This also applies to the high-level economic consultations among the CEMA nations and their integrated program aimed at scientific-technological progress up to the year 2000.

We may therefore say with some justification that we have all it takes to meet the challenges which lie ahead. In doing so, we communists will always be aware of our great responsibility and act accordingly. Relying on its solid unity and the cohesion of its ranks; on the devotion of its members to the great cause of socialism; enriched by invaluable theoretical and practical experiences in its 40-year history, our party stands ready to meet even the most complex challenges of social development. At the same time, it draws on the experiences of the CPSU and the other fraternal parties and the communist world movement--a constantly growing force for progress which circles the globe and is engaged in struggle under the most diverse conditions.

The 27th party congress of the CPSU was an extraordinary step along the hard-fought, glorious road the Soviet communists have travelled in building their socialist society and was of great international significance. In adopting resolutions on the planned and comprehensive perfection of socialism and on the main directions of socioeconomic development up to the year 2000, the party congress established a program of action which will make the intellectual and material potential of the Soviet Union grow substantially. This is of fundamental importance for the well-being of the Soviet people and of decisive importance in the area of world politics as well. In my own address to the 27th party congress I took note of this fact and also took the opportunity to underline the eternal, fraternal alliance of the SED with the CPSU and of the GDR with the USSR which provides the basis for the successful progress of our first socialist workers and peasants state on German soil and which is close to the heart of our party and our people.

The SED has always viewed it as one of its primary responsibilities to rise to the defense of peace and to make its contribution to assuring a happy future for present and future generations. This is all the more true today where we must try to save mankind from nuclear war--be it in space or here on earth--and must direct the activities of all the forces committed to peace and prepared to reach an understanding toward this goal. We therefore lend our full support to the comprehensive program outlined by Mikhail Gorbachev and adopted by the 27th party congress of the CPSU to rid the world of all nuclear weapons by the year 2000 and the comprehensive program for the establishment of an international security system. This affords mankind the virtually historic opportunity to prevent the deadly threat of nuclear holocaust; to ban violence and war from international relations and to establish peaceful coexistence and the peaceful collaboration among nations with different social systems as a binding standard of conduct.

The Soviet proposals make it clear that the threat to the peoples originates solely with those who are obsessed with the idea of military-strategic superiority and world domination and are therefore not only continuing to build the arsenals of nuclear destruction on earth but

are also laying plans for putting vastly destructive weapons systems into space. Exactly because they stand in opposition to these plans and point to ways leading to peace on earth and in space these proposals have met with a strong and positive response by the world public. The proposals serve to support the position of all those who categorically reject the U.S. "Star Wars" project because it would open the way for a huge arms race with all concomitant risks--whereas its termination has become a matter of life and death for mankind.

As one reviews the history of our party, one will not discover a single chapter in it that was not tied to wide-ranging, untiring and constructive efforts on behalf of peace. In accordance with the foreign and security policy coordinated under the Warsaw Pact, we have also been making no small efforts in the very recent past to work for better international relations and the development of peaceful coexistence by way of dialogue and cooperation. This is also why we took an overall positive view of the Geneva summit between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan in spite of the continuing serious differences of opinion. When it is a matter of preserving peace, the GDR and the SED will always be found in the first rank of those who will do anything to spare mankind the indescribable horrors of nuclear war. No war must ever again originate on German soil; no war will ever originate on the soil of the GDR. Would that the FRG, too, fulfill this binding pledge to which it has committed itself.

In adopting the resolutions of the 11th party congress, our party is about to enter the fifth decade of its activity as the leading political force of socialist society in the GDR. Our actions are inspired by the spirit and the legacy of Ernst Thaelmann, whose 100th birthday we will soon be celebrating. He was a shining example of unbending resolution and steadfast commitment to peace and socialism; against war and reaction; a symbol of heartfelt understanding and solidarity with the members of his class and with all working people. Ernst Thaelmann was a true patriot and a proletarian internationalist; a passionate and indefatigable friend of the Soviet Union. It is his very example which the younger generation of our country is emulating in the ranks of the FDJ and we are delighted to see what an active role it is playing as a fellow builder of developed socialist society. Many of the best representatives of this generation have been chosen as party candidates in preparation for the 11th party congress.

The communists of our country will do honor to their name by being in the vanguard of those committed to implementing our policies directed to the well-being of our people and to peace; by standing in the front ranks of the fight to strengthen socialism; by explaining our policies to the working people; by persuading them to act creatively and learning from them at the same time--in short, by acting as trusted representatives of the working people. Where there is a comrade, there is the

party. And so I am fully convinced of the fact that the great, battle-tested, experienced and innovative collective of our party will succeed in implementing the decisions of the 11th party congress for the benefit of the people and help strengthen our socialist GDR in the community of fraternal nations and help make a major contribution to the preservation of peace.

9478

CSO: 2300/322

SED CONGRESS PREPARATIONS, SUCCESSES LAUDED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 41 No 4/5, Apr-May 86 (signed to press 18 Mar 86) pp 297-302

[Article by Horst Dohlus, SED Politburo member and SED CC secretary:
"On the Unity and Cohesion of Our Marxist-Leninist Party"]

[Text] Our 11th party congress will be a significant event in the life of the SED and the entire population of the GDR. It will be in a position to draw up a positive balance sheet on the implementation of the party program and the resolutions adopted by the 10th party congress. It will show how resolutely we have been advancing along the road toward developed socialist society; toward the unity of economic and social policies and the overall strengthening of the first German workers and peasants state and it will show as well that the GDR has consistently been meeting its responsibility as a bulwark of socialism and peace in Europe.

The primary source of all the achievements brought about by the conscious and innovative efforts of the working population is SED policy which serves the concerns of the people. It is also the consistent acceptance of its leadership role by the SED, its uniform and cohesive actions, its fighting strength and its close kinship with the masses.

All this proves that our party is a party of and for the people. In its everyday efforts, it is turning this highest principle of its actions into reality ever and again. Its words and deeds make it clear that the communists' concerns are no different from those of the working class as a whole; that they know of nothing more important than the concerns of the working class and all working people. "It has always been the goal of us communists to vouchsafe a meaningful and happy life to all men and women. The 8th SED party congress in 1971 raised this more comprehensively than ever before to the level of a basic tenet of our policy regarding all questions of social development."

Well Prepared for the Agenda of the 11th Party Congress

Our party has been able to find scientifically valid answers to the issues of economic and social development of the eighties and to problems in the years ahead in a timely fashion and to point out ways of meeting new responsibilities. In the economy, we managed to move into

the era of comprehensive intensification and to give major impetus to scientific-technological progress. This offers proof of the vitality and topicality of the SED program adopted at the 9th party congress--a program which has stood the test of time and fully satisfies the national and international requirements of our time.

Equipped with the mandate of their comrades and the trust of all citizens, the delegates to the 11th party congress will discuss and decide upon the tasks which will lead toward developed socialist society in the GDR and the preservation of peace. Erich Honecker, the general secretary of the SED central committee, has said that these are tasks "which move us all deeply; which place great responsibility on each and every one of us and which must be carried out in a fashion that will do every honor to the good name of every communist."²

Our Marxist-Leninist fighting association is well equipped to meet the challenges faced by the 11th party congress in its mission of further implementing the party program. The wide-ranging public debate which deals with all the major domestic and foreign policy issues helps to deepen the trust which already exists between the party and the masses. The innovative popular movement dedicated to the preparation of the party congress underscores the determination of the working class and all working people to continue resolutely to pursue the successful course charted under SED leadership in the years ahead.

The party elections which preceded the party congress have served to strengthen the political-ideological and organizational unity and cohesiveness in the ranks of the party and have enhanced its fighting strength. They offered proof of the fact that the SED has been playing its leadership role in society to help implement the vital concerns of our people successfully and responsibly.

The resolutions adopted by the 27th party congress of the CPSU which point toward the future of the Soviet Union and the preservation of peace have strengthened our resolve to continue along our purposeful road at the side of the party of Lenin and of the other fraternal parties. The decisions taken there provide us with valuable impulses for even more effective cooperation among the countries of the entire socialist community of nations.

There are two jubilees of significance for our party and our whole people connected with the 11th party congress: the 100th birthday of Ernst Thaelmann, the unforgotten KPD leader, and the 40th anniversary of the unification of the KPD and the SPD into the SED, which created "that political force of society which has been moving successfully forward ever since, in close harmony with all the workers along the road to great changes in the life of our country while engaged in a fierce struggle with imperialism."³

The more than 2.2 million communists are proud of the fact that they are members of united and victorious party the history of whose struggle reaches all the way from the beginnings of the revolutionary workers' movement and the creation of the KPD, the Marxist-Leninist party established under the leadership of Ernst Thaelmann to the unification of the KPD and the SPD into the SED which grew out of the will of the class-conscious workers and the other members of the working population and now, to our 11th party congress. Our party carries on Ernst Thaelmann's work, acting on Lenin's advice which tells us "what genuine communist parties should be like, i.e. genuine vanguards of the true and only revolutionary class all of whose members take part without exception in the struggle, in the movement and in the everyday life of the masses."⁴

Maturation of the Party

Ever since the SED was founded, it has been undergoing a growing and maturing process which has forcefully continued in the struggle for the implementation of the decisions of the 8th, 9th and 10th party congresses. The party elections and the individual discussions with all party members and party candidates which preceded them and in the extremely innovative weeks and months of preparing for the party congress this maturation process has proceeded further and has been enhanced. In what ways can one particularly tell that this has happened ?

- The unified and cohesive actions of the communists in the party organizations have become even more pronounced. Their faith in the policies of the party, in the central committee and in Erich Honecker, its general secretary is unshaken. The ability and the desire to implement these policies even more forcefully with the assistance of all working people has grown. In this way, the party's leadership role has been enlarged in all social spheres. The party collectives have joined together even more closely.

- What the party decides on is carried out. This principle is the yardstick by which party work is measured. The high caliber of political leadership of the bezirk and kreis executives and that of the basis organizations finds expression in their greater ability to solve problems in an ideological fashion; to develop realistic and practical approaches enabling the party and the masses to implement the decisions of the central committee and to organize their uniform realization in the workers' collectives with the help of the comrades.

- Ideological work has become more concrete and efficient. Party members have a clearer perception of their job of carrying on regular political discussions with their fellow workers and in residential areas; to respond to individual questions and to react conscientiously to suggestions from the population. This takes account in a variety of ways of the basic meaning of the political-ideological activities of the SED

which is "to acquaint the working class and all working people with the revolutionary ideas of Marxism-Leninism; to explain party policies to them...to mobilize them for the solution of problems and to protect them against all influences of imperialist and bourgeois ideology."

- The training and continuing education program of the party which has raised the political and technical awareness of communists as well as their experiences in the struggle and the higher standards of the party membership have markedly contributed to improving the party collectives' management capabilities and their ability to act and to radiate strength. The SED now has a solid core of experienced, politically and technically qualified members. Since the 10th party congress, for example, the proportion of leading members who have attended a party school has climbed 8.8 percent to 74.9 percent. Among the party secretaries, their number rose from 80.4 to 87.5 percent.
- Many of the young, new party members have been tempered in the struggle of their workers' collectives to achieve high performance as well as in the ideological work of the party and the FDJ. For our party, they represent a significant cadre reservoir with which we will have to continue working in a goal-oriented fashion. The bezirk delegates conferences, for instance, were attended by 39.1 percent of the delegates for the first time. 2,077 delegates were members of youth brigades and youth research collectives.

New tasks call on us resolutely to continue to work on the maturation process of the party and to raise the fighting potential of every party organization, of every communist and the level of management in the bezirk and kreis administrations in accordance with the increased challenges.

The particular characteristics of this management activity should be:

First, the further improvement of a people-oriented style which helps intensify the close relationship of trust between the party and the people and mobilizes the creative potential of men and women more and more fully to assist in implementing our social strategy;

Secondly, the growing complexity in managing all social processes; a high level of collective action and individual responsibility; thorough familiarity with the situation; the constant ability of all leaders to implement party policies and the broad development of voluntary activity;

Thirdly, the development of long-range, future-oriented plans for party work which helps assure consistency and continuity in programs for the implementation of central committee decisions;

Fourth, effective help and guidance for the basis organizations to enable them to take the necessary steps based on the decisions of the central committee and to organize and control their implementation in a consistent way.

Continuation of Public Dialogue

Political-ideological work is the keystone of all party work. It continues to be the yardstick by which the activities of all party organizations and every communist are measured and is a major source of the close ties which bind the party and masses together.

Jointly with all the forces united in the National Front of the GDR, our party has done much in political mass efforts to help root the indivisible connection between secure peace and strong socialism in the consciousness and the actions of men and women. Evidence of the success of these efforts are the millions of concrete actions which are part of the popular movement in preparation for the 11th party congress.

Like all citizens of the GDR, the communists fully support in word and deed the peace program submitted to the 27th party congress of the CPSU by Mikhail Gorbachev, the general secretary of the CPSU CC, which calls for ridding the planet of nuclear weapons by the year 2000. They are proud of the fact that our state, too--particularly through the untiring personal efforts of Comrade Erich Honecker--is making a substantial contribution to not permitting the constructive dialogue between East and West to break off during this time of tension and to assisting in the formation of a coalition of all reasonable and realistic forces.

The central committee's call for the continuation of public dialogue on the basis of innovative and realistic political-ideological work is designed to enhance the climate in which people can feel happy, can fully develop their capabilities and make the kind of dedicated efforts which will help implement the decisions of the party congress. The aggressive and sensitive mass work of the party which will help achieve this does not happen by itself. We must always and ever more strongly give meaning to our time-tested concept: "wherever there is a comrade, there is the party."

As was stressed at the 10th meeting of the central committee, the true measure of political-ideological work will be the extent to which it helps promote the development and solidification of socialist attitudes and views which, in turn, result in good work, in thinking along, in creativity and in great achievements for the benefit of the people and the maintenance of peace.

Economic Success--A Yardstick for Maturity and Fighting Strength

The policy of the main task which unifies our economic and social policies will determine the efforts of the party and our entire people for some time to come. At the 10th meeting of the central committee, Comrade Erich Honecker pointed out that the SED will cross the threshold of the 21st century with the help of this policy. This emphasis was of great motivating significance for the whole population in the preparations for the party congress.

The achievements of the most wide-ranging mass movement of the working class and all working people thus far to implement the economic strategy of the SED are an important springboard we can use to accomplish the great tasks to be decided on by the 11th party congress. One of our goals will be to achieve a GNP of some 1.3 billion marks between 1986 and 1990. 90 percent of the growth rate will have to be achieved by means of raising labor productivity.⁶ In practical terms this means that we will have to fulfill and exceed the 1986 economic plan in every 10-day period and every month with the help of goal-oriented political leadership. To achieve these goals, we will have to adopt qualitatively new methods--particularly in our efforts to attain international top performance in science and technology with correspondingly high economic earnings. They will also be an important yardstick by which to measure maturity and fighting potential as well as the efficient organization of party work.

Both public dialogue and the comprehensive mass movement will have to be directed toward the implementation of the party's economic strategy in the future as they have been in the past. It is important to exercise thorough control over the extremely valuable ideas contained in letters to the central committee, in individual obligations and in the resolutions adopted by the delegate conferences.

The work done on the catalog of measures to be taken in meeting economic targets and on the programs of action of the basis organizations must be further improved. They are to be used as important management tools to help direct the entire strength of the party and workers collectives toward the solution of economic and scientific-technological problems; toward the organization of competitive performance programs; the rapid transfer of valuable experiences and the full utilization of workers' capabilities.

Strengthening the Party Along Class Lines

The SED is constantly at work to do even more justice to its role as a Marxist-Leninist party of the working class and of all working people. It is constantly raising the level of its activities as the highest form of sociopolitical organization of the working class, as its battle-tested vanguard and as the prime force of socialist society, of all

organizations of the working class and of working people and of the state and social organizations.

The great social power of the labor unions, the FDJ and all the other mass organizations is mobilized by our party by means of its convincing and people-oriented policies and the exemplary activities of the communists in these organizations and their leaderships. The close ties with all working people are characterized by the fact that "we are the most untiring, self-sacrificing and energetic colleagues in the workplace and in the labor unions." This revolutionary experience, which Ernst Thaelmann communicated in 1925, is proof of the correctness and vitality of our everyday party work.

The meritorious, voluntary participation of communists in social organizations, in the committees of the National Front, in commissions and action groups continues to call for the greatest attention and support by the party leaderships. Comradely counsel and evaluation of the fulfillment of this mission by the party members in face-to-face encounters should become a permanent part of the activities of the party leaderships.

The four decades of alliance policy between the party and all sectors of society has stood us in good stead in the preparation of the 11th party congress. The wide-ranging public debate and the SED party elections have given impressive evidence of the fact that confident collaboration in building the developed socialist society has resulted in major accomplishments. This is also reflected in the many proposals and obligations entered into by the parties and mass organizations friendly to the SED which are part of the Democratic Bloc and the National Front on the occasion of the 11th party congress. It is a very important task of all the leading party agencies and of each and every party member to continue to intensify this collaboration dedicated to achieving our noble aims.

Both in its policies and in the composition of its membership the SED is continually enlarging upon its role as the party of the working class and of working people.

The planned control over the development of the party ranks and the purposeful rise of party influence on key activities therefore continue to be an important and time-tested leadership principle which helps assure the class-by-class composition of the party and the strengthening of its unity and cohesiveness as well as the solidification of its mass basis.

The social composition of the party has been continuously expanded without any substantial increase in its membership. The proportion of workers stands at 58.2 percent; the highest since the foundation of the SED. The deep roots the party has struck among our population is further evidenced by the fact that 15,293 cooperative farmers and 33,007 scientists, artists, physicians, educators and other members of the intelligentsia have joined the party since the 10th party congress.

Democratic Centralism, a Vital Law of the Party

During the preparation time for the 11th party congress the capacity of the leading party organs has increased in helping to familiarize the party organizations with the decisions of the central committee rapidly and thoroughly and to organize and control their implementation. Even more effective use is now being made of the principle of democratic centralism; the fighting spirit and the discipline of the basis organizations are intensifying; intra-party activities are becoming more diversified and more interesting. Great importance must be attached to the conclusions drawn from program evaluations directed toward strengthening democratic centralism and aired at election gatherings and delegate conferences. These, after all, concern the organizational and management principles of our party which determine its composition, its inner life and the essentials of its work and which provide the link between the central decisions on the basic political issues and on party work and the broad-based, democratic participation and individual initiative of the members and candidates of the party. The use to which this principle must be put is to integrate the party members more and more fully into the operations and responsibilities of the party organizations and to direct their creative efforts to the strict implementation of party decisions.

It is a reflection of the maturation process of our party that it knows how to use its organizational structure as well as its operations and control function to strengthen the fighting spirit which has its origins in the ideological-militant unity of its ranks.

Via the bezirk and kreis executives, the central committee is making constant efforts to enhance the quality of the basis organizations so that they can act as centers of political activity and trustworthy relations with the working people and as organizers of the implementation of the people-oriented policies of the party under the direction of the central committee. Their responsible work continues to be a decisive factor in the achievement of further gains by the broad-based popular movement toward the 11th party congress and the implementation of its resolutions.

The decisions by the party leadership, e.g. on the formation and operation of the party secretary councils and on party organizational structure in large industrial plants, give us an idea exactly how the party adapts its organizational structure to changing conditions after thorough analysis. These changes turn out to be successful because they are undertaken in conformance with social requirements and the development of our economy in which the combines have been assigned a key role in the acceleration of scientific-technological progress and the increased interrelationship between science and production.

The central committee's directives calling attention to the great responsibility borne by the basis organizations in the parent companies of the combines; the clearer definition of party activities in socialist agriculture in accordance with the territorial principle; the establishment of departmental party organizations in the territorial departments of fruit and vegetable production and the activities of the party groups of the cooperative councils all serve to strengthen the party's political leadership and enhance the influence of the party collectives. They are based on the principle that new organizational structures will always result in closer ties of the party to the masses, in the fighting spirit of the basis organizations and in more political activity by the party membership.

Our strong workers and peasants power and the weight it carries internationally are the mirror image of the activities of the SED, a fighting party, deeply rooted in the population and well-organized, unified and disciplined from the central committee on down to the basis organizations. It will continue to build on its leading position in the struggle for the successful implementation of new programs for the benefit of the people, for the strengthening of socialism and the preservation of peace.

FOOTNOTES

1. Honecker, Erich, "Forward to the 11th SED Party Congress with the 'Ernst Thaelmann Contingent of the FDJ'!" Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1985, p 19.
2. Honecker, Erich, "We Want the Present and Future Generations to Live in Peace and Happiness." NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 10 Feb 86, p 3.
3. "Preparations for the 11th SED Party Congress." [Excerpts from Honecker speech to 10th meeting of SED CC] Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1985, p 10.
4. Lenin, "Letter to the German Communists." Collected Works, Vol 32, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1961, p 548.
5. Program of the SED. Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1976, p 66.
6. Honecker, "Address to the 27th Party Congress of the CPSU." Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1986, p 13.
7. Thaelmann, Ernst, "Deeper Into the Masses!" DIE ROTE FAHNE, 25 Apr 25, cited in "Ernst Thaelmann, a Biography." Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1981, p 229.

9478

CSO: 2300/322

SED POLICIES, ACHIEVEMENTS EXTOLLED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 41 No 4/5, Apr-May 86 (signed to press 18 Mar 86) pp 314-321

[Article by Egon Krenz, SED Politburo member and SED CC secretary: Our Worker-Peasant Power--Guarantee for the Free Development of the People's Creative Forces"]

[Text] At the first symposium of the Berlin youth committees on 2 December 1945, Comrade Erich Honecker made the following response to a question about the meaning of democracy: "For us, the value of democracy depends on the extent to which the laboring segments of our population can participate responsibly in public life, in the growth of production, in the distribution of the goods produced and in the direction of the state." That was and still is the path of our revolution, from its beginnings up to our time. It was and always is tied to the active integration of the masses into the resolute struggle for the interests and ideals of the working class or, for that matter, of the entire working population. History proves that there never was and there is not now any state on German soil other than our German Democratic Republic where the one-time subject has been able to rise to the position of sovereign architect of his own existence.

Our party has never made a distinction between democracy and socialism but has always viewed the two as one. Genuine popular sovereignty--as the facts show--can only be realized by real existing socialism. The political stability in our country as well as the fundamental economic, social and intellectual-cultural changes in the life of our republic are proof of the fact that the dictatorship of the proletariat serves the interests of the whole people in an all-encompassing way.

Without Working Class Power There Is No Secure Policy for the Benefit of the People

The question "democracy and freedom for whom?" has been decided once and for all in our country in a series of fierce class confrontations. The indestructible foundation for it was laid by the democratic land reform constituting the first victorious mass action by the workers and peasants in which the unified action of the KPD and the SPD passed

its first test; by the passage of the popular referendum in Saxony about the expropriation of Nazi and war criminals; by the formation of democratic political parties and mass organizations; by the destruction of the reactionary government apparatus and the establishment of a new, democratic system of government. The first constitution of the workers and peasants state turned into an act of self-determination by the people: "All governmental authority originates with the people...Government authority must serve the well-being of the people, freedom, peace and democratic progress." Workers, tested by fierce class confrontations, anti-fascists of all classes and spheres took over the direction of factories; they became VoPos, judges and teachers and occupied positions in the first democratic administrations. Between 1945 and 1952, some 160,000 production workers assumed positions in government and the economy and did their share, under the leadership of our Marxist-Leninist party, to turn this constitutional principle into constitutional reality.

The successful progress of our workers and peasants state proves that the power of the working class and the entire people is the source of our achievements. In the absence of a well-functioning socialist state, reliably protected by its armed forces, socialism on German soil would have remained a pipe-dream. "Without power, the working class and its allies could not have socialized the vital means of production and could not have created the basis for socialism. It needs this secure power as well in order to fulfill the main task in the interests of the entire population."² There is an internal logic to this fundamental truth of the socialist revolution. As the power of the workers and peasants breaks with everything that is reactionary, aggressive and inhuman it becomes a prime target of all reactionary, aggressive and inhuman forces.

From the start, our government was on the side of social progress, peace and democracy. In fact, it became the living example of the successful realization of these noble goals. Within less than one generation a power developed on German soil which did away with the distinction between the state and the citizen (which is typical for all systems of exploitation) once and for all.

Our social strategy, which is scientifically anchored in the program of the SED, includes the continuing solidification of our system of government and the rule of law and the constantly greater development of socialist democracy. It is reflected in the implementation of the policies of the 8th SED party congress, in unprecedented social activity by the people and in the politically responsible, well-informed participation of the population in the direction and planning of social affairs. The preparations for our 11th party congress by means of the various forms of public dialogue and the popular movement for the strengthening of the GDR--that is socialist democracy in action. In this manner, the relationship of trust between the party, the state and the people has steadily solidified and today is closer than it ever was.

The strengthening of the power of the workers and peasants on German soil was and always will be accompanied by the unshakable solidarity of our party and our people with the party and the land of Lenin. The wealth of experience it has gathered over the decades as the trail-blazer of social progress and as a fighter for a peaceful world was and is of great value for the strengthening of the positions of socialism around the world. As the CPSU CC stressed in its report to the 27th party congress, the acceleration of the socioeconomic development of society "is unthinkable without the continuing development of socialist democracy."³ This perception is in agreement with the experiences and views of our own party. The wide-ranging participation of the individual in the direction of the state and the economy which is in the nature of socialism has become a permanent fact of life in our country.

Socialism, a Solid Foundation for Longing for Peace

As the proletariat rose to the position of the ruling class Germany experienced for the first time an "independent force, aware of its responsibilities and capable to call for peace where those who would be the overlords call for war."⁴ This new power in the state did away with all the socioeconomic prerequisites of imperialist policy; eradicated chauvinism, hate campaigns, revanchism and all types of inhuman ideology and provided the individual's longing for peace with a secure material basis.

Through the generations, the insight has become progressively stronger that forceful socialism is of great importance for securing peace. The inner connection between the strengthening of the state and the development of socialist democracy is not only of national concern. Our workers and peasants state was the first German state in the world whose foreign policy became synonymous with good neighborly relations and calculable policies; with realism, common sense and good will in international relations. Guaranteeing this policy of the socialist German peace state by means of stable socialism is to strengthen the hope for peace of the peoples of Europe as well. Our reliable political credo, attested to by our constructive policy of dialogue, to do our utmost that war will never again originate on German soil has not failed to have an impact on world conscience in the struggle for peace and security.

In the years ahead, our workers and peasants state will continue to make its contribution--side by side with the USSR and the other fraternal nations--to help realize the integrated program outlined by Mikhail Gorbachev, the general secretary of the CC of the CPSU, to rid the world of all weapons of mass destruction by the end of this century.

Worker-Peasant Power Achieves Human Rights

For the first time in German history, worker-peasant power has created the guarantees for a democratic system benefiting the working population as a whole. Under the secure protection of the dictatorship of the proletariat the people's rule has been continuously growing both in terms of content and organization. Today, it is among the unalterable social achievements of socialism. This is evidenced in basic rights everyone can appreciate, e.g. the guaranteed human right to work, to social security, to active participation by young and old, regardless of social origin or ideological and religious beliefs in the political, economic and intellectual-cultural life of our country.

As compared to these facts of socialism, the demagogical conception of human rights of the most aggressive imperialist circles appears more than hollow. Their unctious government pronouncements may sound as though they had a corner on the defense of human rights; but in response to questions such as these they have nothing more to offer than demagoguery: Where is the demand of working people for a peaceful life being trodden underfoot by arms buildups and confrontational policies ? Where are millions and millions of people being turned into social outcasts through unemployment ? Where are the hard-fought democratic rights of working men and women being curtailed or abolished outright in the interest of profits ? Where can a single imperialist state be found that is able to guarantee the right to work, to education for all, to social security or to participation in the direction of the state and society ? Those who are expatiating on alleged violations of human rights and human dignity under socialism are dismantling the rights and the dignity of man in the most flagrant way through the patent collusion between capital and government.

In contrast to this, our workers and peasants state gives proof of what socialist society can do. Real existing socialism in the GDR has real existing accomplishments to its credit which our enemies will not be able to refute convincingly now or in the future with even the most cleverly mounted propaganda campaigns. The social and political struggle of the proletariat has always been a struggle aimed at making human rights a reality. The words of the hymn of the international workers' movement are as stirring and topical as they ever were: "...the International will fight for human rights!" In all those places where the working class has gained power jointly with other working men and women, human rights are guaranteed and implemented with the help of this power.

Democratic Centralism--The Basis of State Direction and Planning

The progress and growth of the GDR proves the correctness of the Leninist principle of democratic centralism as the fundamental development principle of the socialist state. The organizational structure, the cooperation and the activities of all the institutions of socialist governmental

authority are determined by it. The expert way in which the central direction and planning of vital issues is handled and the democratic actions of the working masses constitute a unity.

The political foundation of democratic centralism is the leadership role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party in conjunction with the other laboring classes and segments of the population. Socialist ownership of the means of production and the socialist planned economy provide it with its economic foundation. Its social basis is founded on the conformity of social and fundamental individual interests of the working population. Thus, the everyday practice of socialist governmental authority is proof of the fact that democratic centralism is a vital component of socialist development as well as a basic tenet of socialism itself.

As socialism develops, there is rapid progress in all aspects of social life; in production potential and production relationships; in political and social relations; in science and education; in socialist ideology and culture and in the entire range of working and living conditions as well as in national defense. This historic process of profound change and mutual interdependence also leads to new and greater demands on the activities of the state administration. The implementation of our economic strategy and, in particular, the integration of the scientific-technological revolution and the advantages of socialism is assuming more and more importance in the work of all the organs of the socialist state. Comprehensive intensification ensures the continued economic growth required by the program unifying our economic and social policies; it solidifies the foundations of our socialist German workers and peasants state; it guarantees its political stability and strengthens its international standing. This, in turn, calls for further improvement of government management and for the continuing perfection of socialist justice as well as the systematic political and technical training of the cadres to help them cope with their new missions.

The planning discussions at the factories; the rendering of accounts by the deputies to the people; the reports made by the bezirk and kreis assemblies as well as the city and town councils to the State Council regarding the implementation of the unified economic and social policy in their territories; the generalization of the most valuable experiences in the council of ministers; the regular consultations of the SED CC with directors-general and the party organizers concerning performance trends in the combines and the discussions of the SED CC and the council of ministers with the chairmen of the kreis councils in March 1984 are all living examples of the integration of fundamental issues and democratic initiative on the part of the working population in our everyday social life.

SED Alliance Policy--A Keystone of Socialist Governmental Authority

The development of an atmosphere of trust among all the political forces interested in establishing and strengthening the first German peace state is without a doubt one of the truly significant historic achievements of the SED in the four decades of its existence. The alliance policy is a major theoretical and practical contribution our party has made to the creative implementation of Marxism-Leninism. It is an expression of the basic tenet of our policy to establish a connection between the generally applicable laws of socialism and actual national conditions and requirements.

The amicable collaboration between the SED and the DBD, the CDU, the LDPD and the NDPD and the contribution all parties are making individually to the continued development of our society are among the basic elements on which socialist governmental authority is founded. "The bloc of anti-fascist, democratic parties has made Lenin's principle of the hegemony of the proletariat in a democratic revolution a reality under our specific conditions. This bloc policy of the SED...is based on Lenin's insight that the alliance policy of the revolutionary party of the working class is needed to help establish and strengthen socialism once and for all."⁵ Logically enough, this alliance has been a decisive factor in the happy development of the GDR.

Close collaboration between the working class and the class of cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and other segments of the population has by now become one of the primary sociopolitical driving forces in the GDR. The working class party's program of "everything with the people, through the people and for the people" has since become the program of all those who bear responsibility in our workers and peasants state.

Today, the common political, socio-economic and intellectual-cultural views of the classes and segments of the population are steadily being enhanced as part of the process of the spread of Marxist-Leninist ideology; the implementation of the main task of unifying economic and social policy and the steady rise in the level of education. At the same time, their social characteristics represent an unalterable element in the development of our society. We must make an even more conscious effort to link up with the specific social experiences, traditions and attitudes of our cooperative farmers, the scientific and artistic intelligentsia, the artisans and others as we confront our common problems. In the cities and towns, we have had the most impressive successes wherever and whenever the principles of this society-supporting and society-shaping alliance have been a determining factor in practical governmental direction in big things and in what, at first glance, appear to be minor matters.

The coalition policy in the GDR which is based on the very nature of socialism has a substantial impact on the development of socialist democracy. In their day-to-day experience with power, millions of citizens of all classes and strata take advantage of their right to democratic co-determination--be it as deputies or members of National Front committee; as jurors, as members of a worker and peasant inspectorate or a conflict commission.

To be active on the behalf of the common good calls for knowledge, skill and experience. Through its uniform socialist education system and the diverse types of political instruction, the socialist state under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party and in collaboration with the social organizations (particularly the labor unions and the youth association) creates new and good conditions to help the citizenry to take advantage of its democratic rights and to meet its democratic obligations.

The accomplishments are also mirrored in the development of our popular assemblies since the 8th party congress of the SED. More than half of the 206,000 elected representatives today are workers or cooperative farmers. The actual figure is 51.9 percent. The proportion of women of the total number of representatives climbed from 30.4 percent in 1970 to 37.7 percent today. During that same time period, the number of young people climbed from 11 to 16 percent. 40.7 percent of all representatives today have a university or technical school education. The corresponding figure for 1970 was 25.8 percent. In 1971, only 25.6 of all mayors had a university or technical education. The corresponding figure today is 52.8 percent.

Statistical data such as these point to some vital facts regarding our society. The overthrow of century-old education privileges and the equality of opportunity guaranteed by socialism have a more profound impact than ever before on the quality of participatory democracy. Never before has knowledge been as important a productivity factor as it is today. Especially in the immediate environment of the workplace it promotes a willingness to democratic co-determination. Under socialist production conditions, the scientific-technological revolution acts as an intellectual challenge to the labor force; the more so since comprehensive intensification calls for ever greater familiarity with the production process. The development of science and technology and the economic implementation of its findings are accompanied by changes in working and living conditions. There are new ways of thinking and action developing. Working men and women are exerting an ever greater influence on the processes which determine their style and quality of life. Everyday operations in our combines and factories, in our co-operatives and institutes are proof of this--as is the fact that more than one-third of the adult population is engaged in some honorary state or social function, i.e. more than 260,000 men and women in the people's control bodies of the worker and peasant inspectorates and far more than 600,000 men and women in parents' groups at schools and other institutions of public education.

The progress of our society underscores the path outlined in the SED program: "The main direction in which socialist state authority is developing is the continued development and perfection of socialist democracy."⁶ Its goal is to make the essence of socialism which is to do everything for the well-being of the people a more comprehensive reality that every single individual can actually feel. It finds particular expression in the dialectics which are such an important part of life in our society: The main task stimulates ever new activities by working men and women and supports their democratic co-determination. The development of socialist democracy for its part stimulates new initiatives for the implementation of our economic strategy.

Socialist Communal Policies Serving the State and the Individual

As developed socialist society takes on a more and more discernible shape, communal politics is increasingly becoming the focus of public attention. It is a significant component of main task policy. On the basis of central direction and planning, the local people's representations and their councils, in collaboration with all social institutions and the individual citizens, are performing important creative work aiming at the solution of state and local problems. Today, the territory and its resources has become a major focal point for the implementation of comprehensive intensification. This calls on the entire state apparatus to pay constant attention to territorial aspects and to coordinate central requirements with local initiatives.

The active participation of the citizenry in the cities and communities is making a major contribution to the comprehensive intensification of our economy; to the palpable improvement of working and living conditions; to the development of diversified social life; to the improvement of the environment and to the cultivation of a community spirit and a love of home which are major roots of our national consciousness.

At the same time, society as a whole is making further efforts to help in the development of our cities and communities. Visible proof of this is the fact that expenditures for the cities and communities alone rose from 15.3 billion marks to 20.5 billion marks between 1981 and 1985--which corresponds to a 34-percent rise. But everyone knows that there are new questions arising again and again which ask to be resolved. The individual accomplishments of our citizens as part of the "Help Us Beautify Our Cities and Communities" initiative are a noteworthy example of participatory democracy in our country. They are constantly playing more of a role in our overall economic calculations.

Over the past few years, the more than 7,500 mayors of our country have made an important contribution to the remarkable developments in communal politics. When asked about how they did it, the most successful among them regularly point to their most important insight, i.e. that

it is their constant aim to work in a citizen-directed, people-oriented way in the very best sense of the word and to gain the complete trust of the people as a functionary of the state. For this reason it is one of our fundamental precepts to provide the citizenry with information about present and future problems, to ask for advice and to come up with ideas so as to stimulate interest in participation. It is characteristic for the way the mayors and the councils work that they focus on the great variety of practical everyday issues which concern people and that they help jointly to solve them--be it with regard to housing, to trade, jobs, services and repairs or any other questions which might arise.

The development of socialist democracy also finds expression in the fact that citizens' suggestions, concerns and complaints are increasingly becoming an important basis for decisions by the people's assemblies on social development processes. Suggestions by the public are having a greater impact on the work of the permanent commissions and are not infrequently used as starting points for personal exchanges between deputies and local inhabitants. This helps to deepen understanding for democratic practices and stimulate the willingness to participate.

Based on the concept of democratic centralism, the new law on the local state organs has increased the responsibilities of these institutions. This has led to new initiatives just about everywhere. While the party elections were in progress, special emphasis was laid on taking advantage of territorial resources in an even more responsible way to promote the dynamic and efficient development of the economy through constructive cooperation between combines and plants and the local state organs and thereby to continue to improve the working, living and housing conditions of our citizens.

The extent to which local economic resources can actually be utilized was evidenced in a recent report by the Haldensleben kreis council to the council of ministers. Together with the factories in the area, the kreis council devised new programs for territorial rationalization by collecting the scientific-technological potential of six small and medium-sized plants in a single science and production cooperative. Microelectronics and robotics are to be introduced in these plants at a faster rate and this, in turn, will increase economic efficiency and improve the employees' working conditions. This is another example of the trend among local state organs to introduce more and more measurable improvements which work to the advantage of economic development and provide for better working conditions. In the years to come, the people's assemblies will be focusing even more on practical projects. In this connection, the deputies will also be assigned a bigger function in the implementation and supervision of program decisions. In everyday social practice, all the classes and strata of the population are becoming increasingly aware that the continuing development and perfection of socialist democracy will depend to a large extent on the extent to which each individual, in

his own place--in planning discussions, innovators' collectives or wherever--will take advantage of his privilege to make his conscious, future-oriented and skillful contribution to the work at hand, to planning and to government.

As we work together for our common goal, we help augment and solidify the basis of trust between the party of the working class as the primary and inspirational social force, our state as the primary instrument of the working population to help shape developed socialist society further and the broad masses of the people as the inexhaustible source of our dynamic progress. This mutual trust is one of the great accomplishments of socialism on German soil. Living proof of this was offered during the preparations for the 11th party congress. Awareness of the state and civic pride resulted in practical efforts to help continue our policies in the interest of the people and of peace. This was one more proof of the implementation of our constitutional credo: "All political power in the GDR is exercised by the working people in our cities and in the countryside. Human beings stand in the center of all efforts by socialist society and its state."

The Volkskammer elections and those to the Berlin city council and the bezirk assemblies on 8 June this year will enable us to take still another step forward on the road toward strengthening our socialist state on the basis of the decisions of the 11th SED party congress. We look upon the preparation of these elections as a most important political test immediately following the party congress and hope to turn them into a resounding vote of approval of its decisions by all classes and strata of society. In doing so, we will be doing justice to the expectations of our people to defend its life in peace and freedom as assiduously and resolutely as before and to guarantee a continued rise in the standard of living through the efforts of all working people. In conformance with the nature of socialism and the program of our party, we will be taking every step along the road toward the further strengthening of worker-peasant power in an atmosphere of trust and common purpose together with all working people.

FOOTNOTES

1. Honecker, Erich, "Young People as Active Participants in Building an Anti-Fascist-Democratic Order" in "On SED Youth Policy," Vol 1, Neues Leben Publishers, Berlin, 1985, pp 18-19.
2. Honecker, Erich [rapporteur], "Report of SED CC to 9th SED Party Congress" in "Protocol of Proceedings of 9th SED Party Congress," Vol 1, Dietz, Berlin, 1976, pp 124-125.
3. Gorbachev, M. S. [rapporteur], "Political Report of CPSU CC to 27th CPSU Party Congress." Dietz, Berlin, 1986, p 79.

4. Marx, Karl, "Address to the National Labor Union of the United States." Collected Works, Vol 16. Dietz, Berlin, 1962, pp 356-357.
5. Honecker, Erich, "On a Sure Course." EINHEIT, No4/1976; also in "Speeches and Essays," Vol 4. Dietz, Berlin, 1977, p 298.
6. Program of the German Socialist Unity Party. Dietz, Berlin, 1976, p 41.
7. Haesselbarth, Sieglinde [mayor of Grosshartmannsdorf], NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 18 Feb 86, p 4.

9478

CSO: 2300/322

PEACE POLICIES, GOALS DISCUSSED BY FOREIGN AFFAIRS MINISTER

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 41 No 4/5, Apr-May 86 (signed to press 18 Mar 86) pp 359-364

[Article by Oskar Fischer, member of the SED CC, minister for foreign affairs: "Peace, Peace and One More Time: Peace"]

[Text] For many centuries throughout the history of mankind, the decisions on war and peace lay in the hands of the ruling classes at any given time in the final analysis. War wreaked havoc on millions of people, on entire nations. In war and by means of war all kinds of political, ideological, military and, above all, economic disputes were fought over and won. There were victors and there were the vanquished.

Today, we are faced with a different question.

In the light of the vast destructive power of the overabundant weapons arsenals in the nuclear age and in the light of the threat that mankind may destroy itself, war has ceased to be a continuation of politics by different means. It would put an end to all politics and to life itself. Any reasonable, responsible policy today can only be directed toward one goal--toward peace, peace and one more time: peace. For wars today "the world is far too small and fragile. It cannot be saved and preserved unless we resolutely break with patterns of thought and action once and for all which have been based for centuries on the acceptability and admissibility of wars and armed conflict."

It is the realization of this incontrovertible fact of life of the closing decades of the 20th century which guides socialism in its approach to the fundamental issues of world politics. It is based on the principle of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems which calls for peaceful cooperation on the basis of equality. The only solid basis for such cooperation between states with different social systems and for stability and trust is the end of the arms race and the reduction of military confrontation in accordance with the principle of equality and equal security. This very approach is spelled out in practical terms in the 15 January 1986 statement by Mikhail Gorbachev, the general secretary of the CPSU CC. The statement, which was emphatically reiterated at the 27th CPSU party congress, contains a program of truly historic dimension: mankind is to cross the threshold of the year 2000 having rid itself of nuclear weapons!

This prospect has won extremely broad support for the Soviet step-by-step plan for ridding the world of nuclear weapons. The GDR supports this program in toto--which Comrade Erich Honecker reiterated in his address to the 27th party congress of the CPSU. He said it was deeply moving "proof of the Soviet Union's love of peace and of the constructive desire for a new approach to dealing with the most burning present-day issue in world politics--which is to prevent the occurrence of a nuclear inferno in space or on the surface of the earth and to implement practical measures leading to disarmament. This comprehensive program...provides an historic opportunity which must not pass by unused. Never before since Lenin's manifesto on peace has the international response to a peace policy proposed by socialism been as great as it was to these significant proposals."²

Basic Aspects of Our Commitment to Peace

Peace state on German soil--this synonym for the GDR now has a firm place in the international vocabulary. Even those who hold entirely different ideological views must admit that the GDR does not pose a threat but that it stands for peace. Its very existence, its stable and dynamic development and its calculable policies limit the field of action of those forces which have repeatedly proved to be especially dangerous and aggressive throughout European and world history. Side by side with its allies and friends, the GDR lends its support to peaceful cooperation among nations and peoples. It advocates effective arms limitation and disarmament programs because peace will be the more secure the lower the military parameters of the indispensable military-strategic balance between East and West are.

What are the roots of this strong and persistent commitment to peace of our state ?

In the first instance, it is based on the very nature of socialism. The struggle of our party and of the German working movement for social progress has always been tied to the struggle against imperialist war because in imperialist wars the contradictions between capital and labor were heightened to their extremes--to the death, in fact, of millions of workers and other working people on behalf of the profit and power interests of the monopoly bourgeoisie.

In socialist society, there are no classes and no social strata and no social elements which make money on armaments and war or which have an interest in expansion. More than 100 years ago, Karl Marx stated "that, in distinction to the old society with its economic misery and its political insanity, there is a new society emerging whose international principle will be peace because every nation is governed by the same principle, namely work!"³ A world without war--it is this socialist ideal which we stand for.

Marx could see the time approaching when the working class would enter the arena of history as an independent power "which is aware of its own responsibilities and capable of calling for peace where those who would be masters call for war."⁴ This power of the working class to call for peace has found its embodiment in the socialist state, in the fraternal coalition of socialist states, in real existing socialism and in its strength and international influence.

Socialism needs peace and it creates peace. Peace is the precondition for any further socialist development. The more favorable world conditions are, the more forces and means the socialist state can make available to the realization of its profoundly humanistic socialist programs. The struggle for peace as a necessary outer condition of the continued strengthening of socialist society has turned into a struggle for the survival of mankind itself by now. In this sense, socialist peace policy serves the vital interests of all peoples and individuals without regard to the social system under which they live and without regard to their political and ideological beliefs.

The policy of the socialist German state is determined by the unity of socialism and peace. Article 6 of our constitution requires us to conduct a foreign policy based on socialism and peace, on understanding among peoples and on security. It also states that the close and fraternal alliance with the USSR and our firm membership in the socialist community of nations assure the people of the GDR of further progress along the road toward socialism and peace.

Secondly, the commitment to peace by our party and our state is founded on the obligation to spare no effort in making sure that war never again originates on German soil. This obligation is the result of the bloody lessons of the history of German imperialism and militarism and was part of the binding commitment imposed by the decisions of the anti-Hitler coalition. This basic tenet conforms in the most profound way to the interests and hopes of the working class and the entire working population and to the anti-fascist, internationalist and humanist traditions of the best elements of the German people. From the first day onward it was adopted as a matter of course as the foreign policy doctrine of the young German peace state. In his speech marking the transformation of the German People's Council into the provisional Volkskammer on 7 October 1949, Wilhelm Pieck said "it is our greatest task to take part in the crucial efforts to develop relations between East and West and in all efforts which serve the cause of economic development and the preservation of peace."⁵ The lessons of the war and the experience gained in building a new, peaceful and democratic German state also made the anti-fascist forces of bourgeois origin realize that peace and social progress are one and that the organized working class and its party are the decisive driving force on the road toward peace and happiness for the people. This realization--based on confidence in the tried-and-true leadership of the party of the working class--led to the creation of

the solid and indestructible alliance of all the classes and strata of our society. Socialist German peace policy thus rests on the very broadest of shoulders and is provided with a mighty and unending influx of power based on the desire for peace and the conscious actions on behalf of peace by the men and women of our country--from the Young Pioneers to the veterans of labor.

Thirdly, the GDR's consistent commitment to peace has its origins in the geographical-political position of our state in the center of Europe, at the boundary line between the two social systems and their military alliances. This position calls for a great amount of common responsibility for the political climate and the degree of security in such a sensitive area where the main lines of world politics intersect. The situation in this area and in Europe needs to be characterized by relations of peaceful co-existence among nations with different social systems which have a stabilizing influence on peace and are of advantage to the peoples concerned. The policy of the GDR is directed toward this very goal and that is why it calls for a reduction in military and political confrontation which in its entirety is the responsibility of imperialism and its most aggressive wing in the United States and in NATO.

Our state made a by no means minor contribution to the hopeful developments in international cooperation which took place in the first half of the seventies. In a speech given during the closing phase of the Helsinki Conference on European Security and Cooperation, Comrade Erich Honecker said: "The GDR, an indivisible component of the socialist community of nations, has helped shape the European treaty documents and thereby contributed to the convening and the successful course of the security conference. During every stage of this process which was not without its disputes, the GDR gave proof that its actions are always marked by an interest in peace and détente and that it serves as a stabilizing factor for peace in Europe."⁶

A fourth and final point: the commitment to peace of the socialist German state is determined by the fact that tensions and conflicts in the world--including those occurring outside our own continent--cannot leave us indifferent. They not only threaten the peoples of one particular region but are a danger to world peace at the same time. For this reason, the GDR demands that all conflicts, however complex they may be, should be peacefully resolved by way of negotiations which do justice to the legitimate interests of peoples and states. And for this reason, too, the GDR is firmly opposed to the imperialist policy of inciting tensions, of threats, intervention and naked aggression--and that is why it extends assistance on the basis of solidarity.

A Policy of Common Sense and Realism

Today's world is coming to the inescapable conclusion that the two social systems must learn to live together on pain of the annihilation of mankind. Socialist peaceful coexistence policy does justice to this fact of life. Indeed, it not only rules out any attempt to decide the confrontation between the two systems by force of arms but directs its efforts toward reducing the influence of militaristic adventurers and thereby of warlike acts themselves. It thereby provides an incentive for the willingness of the two systems to engage in peaceful competition. "The course of history and of social progress is calling more and more emphatically for constructive and creative cooperation among the states and peoples of our entire planet," Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev said at the 27th party congress of the CPSU. "It not only calls for it but also creates the political, social and material conditions which favor it. Such cooperation is needed, so that a nuclear inferno can be prevented and civilization can survive."⁷ This fundamental expression of socialist peace policy based on common sense, realism and good will is convincingly reflected in the active and creative efforts of our party and our state for the preservation and protection of mankind's most valuable asset. Nothing could provide better proof of this than the "now more than ever" slogan issued by our party at the 7th meeting of the central committee in November 1983 at the very moment when U.S. nuclear first strike weapons began to be deployed to the west of our national frontier, causing a further escalation of world tension brought on by the most aggressive imperialist circles. Based on the fact that "it is always preferable to negotiate 10 times than to fire once" and on the need "to continue the political dialogue with all those forces which take their responsibility for the destiny of peoples and of mankind seriously and are willing to arrive at an understanding," Comrade Erich Honecker clearly stated what must be done in the interests of peace. "It is and will remain the primary goal of the GDR's foreign and security policy," he said, "to make our contribution toward the prevention of a nuclear inferno and the preservation of peace. As before, there is no sensible alternative to the policy of peaceful coexistence between nations with different social systems. More than ever, it is our task to mobilize the forces needed to implement these goals."⁸

In a great many meetings with political leaders of European countries--including NATO member states--Comrade Erich Honecker explained and solidified this point of view in order to stabilize relations between the various countries. The intensive bilateral dialogue at high and highest levels is being supplemented by active cooperation in organizations dedicated to multilateral international collaboration.

The Geneva meeting between the general secretary of the CPSU CC and the President of the United States has underscored the value and indispensability of dialogue. At the same time, it called attention to the obligation of all states to increase their efforts toward dialogue and cooperation still fur-

ther in order to find and/or create the proper conditions for reducing the threat of war and for bringing about an improvement in international relations.

Both in bilateral and in multilateral dialogue, the GDR focuses attention on the crucial issues of securing peace, i.e. preventing the militarization of space; putting an end to the arms race on earth and devising rapid and effective disarmament programs. As a socialist state in the heart of Europe, the GDR speaks for the specific security concerns of the European nations in this regard. One example is the joint proposal by the GDR and the CSSR to the FRG for the establishment of a chemical weapon-free zone in Central Europe. A working group of our party has done some spade work on this jointly with representatives of the SPD. It also is to be hoped that "the establishment of a nuclear-free corridor in Europe in accordance with the suggestions of the Palme commission" will help carry forward efforts to bring about a worldwide ban on nuclear weapons. Discussions on the latter proposal are also being held between representatives of the SED and the SPD at this time.

In the conduct of relations between the GDR and the FRG, the preservation of peace is and will continue to be the paramount issue. Relations between the two German states must not be the cause of any strain (much less of any additional strain) on the situation in Europe. Such an approach acts as an incentive for good neighborly relations on the basis of international law while providing impulses for peaceful and trustworthy coexistence among the peoples of Europe. The indispensable foundation of peaceful collaboration among the peoples and states of our continent is and will continue to be the inviolability of existing borders. Without a doubt, the statement contained in the joint communique on the meeting held on 12 March of last year between Erich Honecker, the general secretary of the SED CC and FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl is doubtless of special importance. The statement pointed out that the inviolability of frontiers and the recognition of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all European states within their present borders is a fundamental prerequisite for peace.

Together with its allies, the GDR will play a constructive role in the all-European forums and will continue its efforts to carry forward the process started in Helsinki. This will help create the proper atmosphere for the upcoming Vienna meeting on security and cooperation in Europe this fall.

The liberated nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America are important partners in the struggle for peace and disarmament. We are tied to these countries in solidly matured relationships of genuine equality and active solidarity, of agreement on the most important issue of all, i.e. that of preserving peace and in a variety of cooperative efforts in major areas of world trade.

In their campaign against socialism and against social progress generally, the most aggressive imperialist states are increasing their pressure on the nations of these particular continents. Nonetheless, these countries are coming out more and more forcefully against the dangerous trend in international relations. They are speaking out more and more openly in favor of putting an end to the tremendous waste of the material and intellectual resources of mankind to keep the arms race going and to spend these sums instead on the fight against economic underdevelopment, hunger, sickness and illiteracy--in other words on peaceful programs. They can sense how strongly opposed the militarization of international relations engineered by the most aggressive forces of imperialism is to their desire for a democratic transformation of international trade relations. The substantial demands and activities of the movement of non-aligned states are evidence of this as are the joint actions by the six heads of state and government of four continents who signed the Delhi declaration and the commitment of the liberated states of Asia, Africa and Latin America in the United Nations.

Threat to Peace Can Be Overcome!

As great as the threat to peace may be, it can be overcome. The peace initiatives of the USSR, of the states of the Warsaw Pact and of the entire socialist community of nations point the way. It is a path which can be used because it is marked by equality and equal security and enables the nations to live a life of guaranteed peace.

Socialist peace policy has enabled the peoples of Europe to enjoy the longest period of peace in their history. The policies of the most aggressive imperialist circles--in particular the policy of arms buildup and military strength and the drive for military-strategic superiority--on the other hand has led to a worrisome escalation of international tensions. As far as Europe is concerned, this dangerous policy is reflected both in the deployment of American medium-range, first strike nuclear weapons and in the attempts to make the states of Western Europe subordinate their own security concerns and their political and economic interests to the so-called SDI project.

But the consistent labors by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, based on the awareness of the greatest responsibility for the destiny of mankind; the commitment to peace by the non-aligned and neutral nations and the tireless efforts of the worldwide peace and anti-war movement are not without effect. The Geneva summit meeting between the leading representatives of the USSR and the U.S.A. has resulted in more favorable conditions for the solution of the fundamental issues of our time and has aroused new hope among the world public. For the very reason that there still are many obstacles on the road to disarmament, détente and guaranteed peace--particularly the rigid position of the United States with regard to the SDI plans for the militarization of space and the policy of strength as well as the support given to these efforts by some of the NATO member nations--resolute commitment to peace is the order of the day, now more

than ever. In the wake of the Geneva summit we must "make every effort to move forward along the road of negotiation and to make peace more secure. Now more than ever, our watchword must be to fight for peace."¹⁰ This continues to be the program of action which the GDR is carrying out on the firm foundation of the common peace policy of the states of the Warsaw Pact and in increasingly closer collaboration with all forces of reason and realism.

Of course it is not easy to overcome the threats to world peace. The road there has its ups and downs; it calls for all of our best efforts--but we will succeed in reaching our goal. To do this, our socialist state will commit its entire potential and experience. Our respected position as a reliable and strong partner in the alliance of the fraternal community of socialist nations; our diplomatic relations with 135 countries on all continents; our membership in the UN and countless other international organizations; our membership in major institutions negotiating the limitation of arms and disarmament and the weight attached to our country in international dialogue generally all attest to this. The always reliable and calculable domestic and foreign policy supported by our entire people; the conformance of our national policies with the requirements of international cooperation and solidarity and the convincing accomplishments of socialist development in the economic, social and cultural sphere are all lending weight to the voice of the GDR in the worldwide struggle for peace, limitation of arms, disarmament and détente. More clearly than ever the community of socialist nations is emerging as the primary factor in the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe today. The GDR's contribution to the overall strengthening of socialism; to the unity and cohesiveness of the socialist community of nations; to the strong growth of all its capabilities--which all add up to the influence it has in the world--is the most important contribution the German workers and peasants state is making to the cause of peace and security in the world.

FOOTNOTES

1. Gorbachev, M. S. [rapporteur], "Political Report of the CPSU CC to the 27th CPSU Party Congress." Dietz, Berlin, 1986; p 95.
2. Honecker, Erich, "Welcoming Address to the 27th CPSU Party Congress." Dietz, Berlin, 1986; pp 10-11.
3. Marx, Karl, "First Address of the General Council on the Franco-Prussian War" in Collected Works, Vol 17. Dietz, Berlin, 1983; p 7.
4. Marx, Karl, "Address to the National Labor Union of the United States" in Collected Works, Vol 16. Dietz, Berlin, 1962; pp 356-357.

5. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 8 Oct 49, p 2.
6. Honecker, Erich, "The Security of European Nations Was and Is Above All the Security of Their Borders" in "Addresses and Essays," Vol 3. Dietz, Berlin, 1976; p 461.
7. Gorbachev, op. cit., p 29.
8. Honecker, Erich, "In a Time Full of Struggle We Maintain the Time-Tested Course of the 10th Party Congress for Peace and Socialism." [7th meeting of SED CC], Dietz, Berlin, 1983; p 16.
9. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 17 Feb 86, p 1.
10. "On the Results of the Geneva Summit" [From the report of Comrade Erich Honecker to the 11th meeting of the SED CC]. Dietz, Berlin, 1985; p 13.

9478

CSO: 2300/322

SED ANNIVERSARY CONFERENCE REPORTED, ASSESSED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 41 No 4/5, Apr-May 86 (signed to press 18 Mar 86) pp 456-458

[Article by Prof Dr Goetz Dieckmann, prorector and director of the History department at the SED CC's "Karl Marx" Party College: "Forty Years of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany"]

[Text] To mark the 40th anniversary of the unification of the KPD and the SPD into the SED, the institutes of the central committee--the "Karl Marx" party college, the academy for social science, the institute for Marxism-Leninism and the central institute for socialist economic management--held a joint scientific conference at the party college on 23 January 1986. It was attended by 900 scientists and propagandists, active participants in the unification process, representatives of research commissions into the history of local workers' movements, teachers and students from party educational institutions, agitators from industrial plants and agriculture and representatives of friendly political parties and social organizations.

Four papers were given at the introductory plenary session of the conference. Kurt Tiedke, the rector of the party college, spoke on "The Road to the Unification of the KPD and the SPD into the SED. The Historic Significance of the Unification Party Congress." Guenter Heyden, the director of the institute for Marxism-Leninism, spoke on "The Development of the SED as a Marxist-Leninist Vanguard of the Working Class and the Entire Working Population of the GDR. The Significance of the Resolutions Adopted by the 7th Party Congress for Strengthening the Atmosphere of Trust Between the Party and the People." Otto Reinhold, the rector of the academy for social sciences, spoke on "The Significance of the Party Program for the Advancement of Developed Socialist Society in the GDR" and the topic of Helmut Koziolek, the director of the central institute for socialist economic management, was "The Economic Strategy of the SED--a Creative Contribution to Marxist-Leninist Theory.--On the Relationship Between Political and Economic Transformations in the Process of Socialist Revolution."

Working groups on these themes under the chairmanship of these speakers were then formed and the conference was continued and concluded by these groups. In all, 51 party members spoke at the conference.

Close collaboration among those responsible for preparing and staging the conference made it possible to provide an overview of the fundamental processes and accomplishments during the four decades since the unification of the two workers' parties and to draw theoretical and political lessons from them to assist in the preparation of party propaganda activities in advance of the 11th party congress.

The paper presented by Kurt Tiedke and the discussions in the first of the workshops underscored the mighty urge toward unity among the members of the working class. This urge toward unity was strong not only in the then Soviet zone of occupation but also in the Western zones of Germany. But there it was thwarted by the imperialist occupation powers and German monopoly capital by means of violence, demagoguery and anti-communist slander, thus laying the groundwork for the division of Germany.

The speaker pointed out that the existence of the KPD, born of the fire of the November revolution and its development into a strong Marxist-Leninist mass party under the leadership of the Thaelmann central committee in its struggle against imperialism, fascism and war made it possible to achieve the unity of the working class on a revolutionary basis. Revolutionary struggle thus made it possible to take advantage of the historic opportunity to give a fundamentally new and progressive direction to the development of our people which had been opened up through the liberation from fascism by the Soviet army and all the forces of the anti-Hitler coalition.

On the basis of comprehensive documentary evidence, the speakers from the research commissions into the history of local workers' movements outlined the profoundly democratic process of the unification of the KPD and the SPD. They emphasized that there were specific characteristics to the efforts toward unity and also that they developed further in the course of the solution of anti-fascist-democratic problems--depending on the strength and attitude of the social democratic organizations in different Laender of the Soviet occupation zone. In Mecklenburg/West Pomerania, for example, they were totally tied to the implementation of the agrarian revolution. It was also pointed out that the establishment of unified free trade unions and of a unified youth organization made a favorable impact on the political-organizational unity of the working class within a revolutionary party.

Guenter Heyden's contribution and the debate in the second workshop emphasized that the great historic accomplishments of the GDR under the leadership of the SED are based on the fact that the SED has continued to develop as a Marxist-Leninist party in accordance with the growing demands of history; that it has been inspired by the universally valid laws of socialist revolution and socialist development and has applied them creatively to the actual historical conditions prevailing in our country. This has enabled the party to resolve the fundamental question of social-

ist revolution (i.e. the question of power) in the interest of the working class and the other classes and strata of society allied to it; to forge a broad-based coalition of all democratic forces and to make a creative contribution to the further development of Marxist-Leninist theory.

Specific mention was made of the paramount importance of the 8th party congress which focused the policy of the party and the state on the realization of the true meaning of socialism in a qualitatively new way. This has found special expression in the main task policy which unifies the concerns of economic and social policy. The tangible results of this policy which benefits all our people; the unity of the party's words and deeds, it was stressed, are decisive for confidence in our society's leading force and are a major driving force for the flowering of creativeness. Erich Honecker's statement was recalled in this context: "The more accurately political life responds to the needs of the working people and the more efficiently it serves their interests, the more clearly will people be able to understand it and the more mightily will mass initiative flow."*

Otto Reinhold's paper and the discussion in the third workshop concentrated on the concept of developed socialist society contained in the SED party program which has proved itself in real life and on the analysis of the new world situation, on the dangers caused by the arms buildup policy of the most aggressive circles of imperialism and on the consequences arising from it.

The speaker presented an historical survey, including the KDP appeal of 11 June 1945 on "Basic Concepts and Goals of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany" and leading all the way to the SED program adopted by its 9th party congress, which has since been the basis of our efforts at safeguarding peace and the advancement of developed socialism in our country. He pointed out in some detail that socialism and peace are inextricably connected by their very nature. He also said that the policy of the main task, unifying the concerns of economic and social policy, which has been resolutely pursued since the 8th party congress, represents the essence of developed socialism. It is a policy directly derived from the social meaning of socialism and has therefore never been a topic of discussion for our party in spite of ever changing conditions. On the contrary--the goal always was to create the proper conditions to help carry out this policy successfully. This is the policy, as Erich Honecker has remarked during the preparatory phase of the 11th party congress, which will help us cross the threshold of the new millenium.

* Honecker, Erich, "Issues of Science and Politics in Socialist Society" in "Addresses and Essays," Vol 1. Dietz, Berlin, 1975, pp 379-380.

The focus of Helmut Koziolk's paper and the discussion in the fourth workshop was on the economic strategy of the SED which points the way toward comprehensive intensification of our economy and the organic integration of the advantages of socialism into the scientific-technological revolution. Today, this increases the need above all to take full advantage of key technologies. Specific mention was made of microelectronics, computer-assisted production preparation and output control as well as flexible automation because all these help substantially to increase the economic efficiency of the entire reproduction process.

The economic strategy is directed to the full development of modern productive forces which, in a socialist system, simultaneously brings forth new opportunities for overall personal development, for the improvement of working and living conditions and for raising the educational and cultural standards of the people as a whole. Even in the age of highly sophisticated technology, man is and will continue to be the primary productive force. To have a clear view of tomorrow's GDR; to make strategic economic decisions which guarantee healthy economic growth in the years ahead--all this calls on us to have an eye as well on the day-to-day needs of the people. All our efforts are directed toward creating the material, socioeconomic and political-ideological conditions which will help us to realize ever higher stages of the meaning of socialism--which is to do our best for the welfare and happiness of the people. The solid foundation for this has been laid by the continued development of socialist production relationships; by the establishment of the combines; by the even closer link between science and production achieved thereby and by the perfection of the socialist planned economy.

The description of our party's historic road of development and the convincing story of its struggle against imperialism and war and for peace and socialism is an important contribution to our efforts to intensify the confidence of the working population in the policies and the leadership qualities of the party. This very goal is and will continue to be the prime prerequisite for political and social stability; for economic dynamism and our heightened contribution to the struggle for the overall strengthening of socialism and the maintenance of peace.

9478

CSO: 2300/322

CHURCH NEWSPAPER CIRCULATIONS, COVERAGES NOTED

West Berlin IWE TAGESDIENST in German No 64, 25 Apr 86 p 3

[Article datelined IWE Berlin 25 April 1986: "Forty Years of Church Press in the GDR"]

[Text] Recently, the five weekly newspapers of the Evangelical churches in the GDR have celebrated the 40th anniversaries of their founding. The oldest church publication is DIE KIRCHE. It has been published in East Berlin since December 1945. At the end of March 1946 the POTSDAMER KIRCHE followed it, and in the course of the year, the MECKLENBURGISCHE KIRCHENZEITUNG began in Schwerin, the Thuringian Sunday paper, GLAUBE UND HEIMAT in Weimar, and DER SONNTAG in Dresden. No separate weeklies are published in the church province of Saxony, nor in the small district churches of Anhalt, Goerlitz and Greifswald. According to church figures, the total circulation of Evangelical church newspapers is approximately 147,000. DIE KIRCHE has the highest circulation (42,000 copies), followed by DER SONNTAG (40,000) and GLAUBE UND HEIMAT (36,500). Since 1951 the Catholic church in the GDR has been publishing the bi-weekly, TAG DES HERRN (circulation: 100,000), in Leipzig, and since 1954, it has been publishing the East Berlin ST HEDWIGSBLATT (weekly circulation: 25,000). In addition, a few monthlies are published by the free churches and religious associations.

The GDR church newspapers fulfill an important function in the religious sphere. They see their role as mediating between the church and the world, broadening the view of the ecumenical movement, and promoting relations between the churches and the members of their congregations. In this respect there are, of course, differences, especially between the Catholic and the Evangelical newspapers. While the social reality of the GDR plays only a subsidiary role in the Catholic newspapers, which offer extensive treatment of ethical and historical questions and provide information on the worldwide church in its stead, the Evangelical periodicals are definitely concerned with problems specific to the GDR. That includes conflicts with state offices, going as far as the (rare) publication ban. Critical commentary on the so-called official church is not excepted, and the activities of grass roots church groups are reported in detail. It is also typical for the Evangelical weeklies to take up topics which are not dealt with until considerably later, if at all, by the rest of the GDR press. Examples are: environmental protection, alcoholism, discrimination against Christian children, and the problems of "fringe groups" (homosexuals, conscientious objectors), as well as the questions of peace and disarmament. With respect to the latter, the Church press recently voiced general approval of the proposals made by Soviet Party Chief Gorbachev.